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GUIDE TO SIENA

HISTORY AND ART

BY

WILLIAM WATSON

AND

MARY WATSON

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GUIDE TO SIENA

HISTORY AND ART

BY

WILLIAM HEYWOOD

AND

LUCY OLCOTT

Fourth, illustrated and partially revised, edition.

With supplementary notes by

F. MASON PERKINS

—ooo—

SIENA

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1924

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I

HISTORICAL

BY WILLIAM HEYWOOD

Topographical	Page	3
Works Consulted	„	7
Historical Sketch	„	17
Literary History	„	139
The “ Palio delle Contrade ”	„	147

PART II

ARTISTIC

BY LUCY OLCOTT

Prefatory Note	Page	159
INTRODUCTORY		
Architecture	„	161
Sculpture	„	175
✓Painting	„	187
The Minor Arts	„	217
ITINERARY		
Terzo di Città	„	222

Gift

— VI —

Terzo di S. Martino	Page	327
Terzo di Camollia	„	350
Environs	„	409
APPENDIX		
Useful information	„	416
Index	„	423
Additions and Corrections	„	449

Preface to New Edition

The exceptional favour with which this Guide has been received in past years by press and public alike, its lasting reputation as the standard work of its kind on Siena, and the rapid and complete disappearance of its first three editions, have long impressed me with the desirability of its re-issue. For some years past, in fact, it has been my hope to republish it in a new and improved edition, and to that end the writer of the artistic section had already taken in hand the revision of her portion of the volume, only to abandon it with the idea of more or less entirely re-writing the section in question at her earliest convenience. Unfortunately, she has so far been prevented from carrying out her intention and I have consequently decided, in response to the incessant demands of students and visitors to Siena, to bring out, without further delay, a temporary re-issue of the Guide in its original form. In order, however, to bring it up to date, after the considerable period that has gone by since the appearance of the last edition, I have

asked Mr. Heywood to re-edit his portion of the text, and have furthermore been fortunate enough to prevail upon Mr. F. Mason Perkins to undertake a partial annotation of the artistic section. The co-operation of such a leading and recognized authority on Sienese art as the last-named writer will, it is perhaps quite needless to say, be sure to lend to this new edition a special interest and value. Finally, and speaking from a more purely material point of view, it is my intention to give to these new volumes a lighter form and more convenient size than was the case with those of the earlier editions.

Enrico Torrini, Editor.

Siena, 1916.

P. S.- Since the date of the preceding Preface, various happenings have united to postpone the publication of this volume, one of the most important of these being the unexpected cessation of the long-standing firm of Messrs. Torrini, due in part to the sudden death of its director. Among the varied literary property later acquired by us from the executors of the said firm, were the manuscript notes and corrections prepared by Mr. Perkins for the new edition of the Guide, no part of which had as yet been consigned to the typographer. Owing to the crisis already manifesting

itself at the time in the publishing world, we were not in a position to undertake the immediate printing of the new edition, and it is only now, after a long delay, that we are at last able to realize what has been our sincere desire for the past three years.

In closing this note, it is with the deepest regret that we are compelled to record the recent death of Mr. Heywood—a loss that will be keenly felt not only by all students of Italy's medieval history, but by many others who knew him personally during his long residence at Siena and Perugia.

Libreria Editrice Senese.

Siena, December, 1920.

PART I

HISTORICAL

BY

WILLIAM HEYWOOD, B A., Cantab.

Socio Corrispondente della Commissione Senese di
Storia Patria. - Socio Corrispondente della Regia
Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

OUR LADY OF AUGUST AND THE PALIO OF SIENA.
Torrini, Siena, 1899.

THE "ENSAMPLES" OF FRA FILIPPO. A study of Mediæval Siena. Torrini, Siena, 1901.

A PICTORIAL CHRONICLE OF SIENA. Torrini, Siena, 1902.

PALIO AND PONTE. A Book of Tuscan Games. Torrini, Siena: Methuen, London, 1904.

A HISTORY OF PERUGIA. Methuen, London, 1910.

TOPOGRAPHICAL

Noi ci traemmo alla città di Siena,
La quale è posta in parte forte e sana,
Di leggiadria, di bei costumi piena,
Di vaghe donne e d'homini cortesi,
Con aer dolce lucida e serena.

FAZIO DEGLI UBERTI, *Il dittamondo*

Its built high and low, with many high towers in it;..... and this makes it seen thirty miles off on *Romes* side. The people here are very civil, and even sociable too; which together with the good ayre, the good exercises for gentlemen, the good language, and the great priviledges, make many strangers draw bridle here, and sommer it at *Siena*, the *Orleans* of *Italy*.

R. LASSELS. *The Voyage of Italy*.

Siena is 60 miles by rail south of *Florence* and 160 north-west of *Rome*, and is situated at an altitude of 1330 feet above the sea level.

Its climate is probably pleasanter than that of any other Tuscan city. With *Florence* in particular it compares most favourably, being far cooler in summer, and, if not actually warmer in winter, at least apparently so, by reason of its drier atmosphere and greater freedom from cold winds.

The city stands upon three hills, along the ridges of which its three principal thoroughfares extend. This gives it, as seen from the summit

of the Torre del Mangia, something of the appearance of a huge star-fish with three rays. Possibly it is to this conformation that the town owes its division into *Terzi* or *Terzieri*, viz. the Terzo di Città, the Terzo di San Martino, and the Terzo di Camollia—a division which goes back to the earliest days of the Commune and which is still maintained.

These *Terzi* are again divided into 17 *contrade* or wards, each with a distinct appellation, chapel and flag of its own. Of these *contrade* the Terzo di Città and the Terzo di Camollia each contain six, that of San Martino five.

A special condition is created by the zone which surrounds the periphery of the city and which bears the name of the *Masse*.

The area within the walls of Siena is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ square miles.

Anciently the city was furnished with numerous gates, at one time as many as thirty-six. Today these are reduced to nine including the *Barriera San Lorenzo*.

The water-supply is drawn from natural springs in the surrounding hills, and is, at any rate at its source, of excellent quality. What impurities it may have accumulated before it reaches the public fountains is another matter. (1)

(1) [Since the above lines were written the completion of the aqueduct from distant Monte Amiata has secured to Siena a constant supply of the purest mountain water].

It is brought to the city through subterranean aqueducts which are known as *bottini*, and which by successive excavations have attained a length of more than fifteen miles. It is recorded that the Emperor Charles V., when he inspected them in 1535, declared that Siena was more beautiful under than above ground. On this matter the imperial judgment may be open to question; but the *bottini* certainly well repay a visit. They are quite practicable even for ladies.

The population of Siena at the last census was 27,306, thus showing an increase of 2102 during the preceding decade. The population of the *Masse* is 10,312.

The Province of Siena, comprising about 1462 square miles and 37 communes, has a total population of 233,874.

The Diocese of Siena is an Archbishopric, dating from 1459, and includes 18 city and 95 rural parishes divided into 12 vicariates.

The city possesses a University which existed at least as early as the 13th century, and which is limited to the faculties of law and medicine. Among other public institutions the following are the more important:—the Town Library (*Biblioteca Comunale*) first opened to students in the 17th century; the Archivio, a record office, instituted in 1858, containing a valuable and splendidly arranged collection of documents; the Fine Arts Institution (*Accademia delle Belle Arti*) found-

ed in 1816; and the natural history museum of the *Accademia dei Fisiocritici*, inaugurated in the same year. There are also many flourishing charities, including an excellent hospital and a school for the deaf and dumb.

There are English Church Services for a few weeks in the Spring (beginning, as a rule, the Sunday before Easter).

The City of Siena itself cannot be satisfactorily seen in less than a week; and, even so, only by dint of very hard work. If it is desired to visit the various places of interest in the neighbourhood, at least double that time should be allowed.

WORKS CONSULTED

I shall desire that the learned reader will not conceive any opinion against any part of this... volume, until he shall have read over the whole, and diligently searched out and well considered of the several authorities... which we have cited and set down for warrant an confirmation of our opinions.

LORD COKE

The following list, so far from purporting to constitute a complete Bibliography, contains only the more important works actually consulted in the preparation of the historical section of this *Guide*. Such of them as are printed between square brackets have been published since the first edition appeared.

STATUTES

Il Constituto dei Consoli del Placito del Comune di Siena pubblicato da LODOVICO ZDEKAUER, Siena, Enrico Torrini, 1890.

Il Constituto del Comune di Siena dell'anno 1262, pubblicato sotto gli auspici della facoltà giuridica di Siena da LODOVICO ZDEKAUER,

Milano, Ulrico Hoepli, 1897.

[NOTE. This work contain only the first three *Distinctions* and a portion of the fourth. The remainder of the *Constituto* up to *Dist. V. Rubric 248* is published by Professor ZDEKAUER in the “*Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* „ vols. I-III (1894-6) under the title of *Il frammento degli ultimi due libri del più antico Costituto senese*; while in volume V. of the same periodical (pages 211-228) U. G. MONDOLFO has published *L'ultima parte del Constituto Senese del 1262 ricostruita dalla Riforma successiva*].

Statuti Criminali del foro ecclesiastico di Siena (sec. XIII-XIV) pubblicati da L. ZDEKAUER nel “*Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* „ vol. VII (1900).

Ordinamenti Militari Senesi del 1307, pubblicati da E. CASANOVA nell’ “*Archivio Storico Italiano* „. Dispensa 3.^a del 1899.

Statuti Senesi, Bologna, G. Romagnoli, 1863-1877.

Volume I. (per cura di FILIPPO-LUIGI POLIDORI) *Statuto del Comune di Montagutolo — Statuto dell’Arte dei Carnajuoli di Siena — Statuto dell’Arte della Lana*.

Volume II. (per cura di LUCIANO BANCHI) *Statuto della Società del Padule d’Orgia — Statuto dell’Arte della Lana di Radicondoli — Statuto dell’Arte dei Chiavari di Siena — Statuto dell’Arte de’ Cuoiai e Calzolari di Siena*.

Volume III. (per cura di LUCIANO BANCHI) *Statuto dello Spedale di Siena. Il Constituto del Comune di Siena volgarizzato nel MCCCIX-MCCCX* edito sotto gli auspici del Ministro dell’Interno. 2 vols. (Siena, Lazzeri, 1903).

La sesta Distintione del Costoduto del Comune di Siena dans “*Le Statut des neuf Gouverneurs et Défenseurs de la Commune de Sienne* „ par JULIEN LUCHAIRE. Extrait des *Mélanges d’Archéologie e d’Histoire* publiés par

l'École Française de Rome. T. XXI (Rome, Imprimerie de la Paix de Philippe Cuggiani, 1901).

Provvedimenti economici della Repubblica di Siena nel 1382, per cura di A. LISINI, Siena, Enrico Torrini, 1895.

Statuti delle Arti per cura di G. MILANESI nei Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte Senese (Siena, O. Porri, 1854) vol. I pag. 1-135.

DOCUMENTS

Besides the numerous documents which have been printed from time to time in the *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, in the *Miscellanea Storica Senese*, in the *Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte Senese* of G. MILANESI, in the *Nuovi Documenti* of BORGHESI and BANCHI, and in the notes and appendices of many of the works hereinafter cited, the student should consult the *Codice della Città d'Orvieto* by L. FUMI, and the *Documenti dell'Antica Costituzione del Comune di Firenze* by P. SANTINI, being volumes VIII and X of the "Documenti di Storia Italiana", published by the Royal Deputation for the Provinces of Tuscany and Umbria. They contain many of the treaties and conventions entered into between Siena and Orvieto and Siena and Florence.

In volume IX of the same series, the celebrated *Libro di Montaperti* was edited by C. PAOLI.

It contains the original registers of the Florentine army which was destroyed in 1260; [while, for the 14th century, the *Documenti per la Storia dei Risorgimenti Politici del C. di Siena dal 1354 al 1369*, edited by JULIEN LUCHAIRE (Paris, Picard et Fils, 1906) will be found useful].

It may be noticed that in volume V of the *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, A. LISINI has published an Inventory of all the document contained in the five *Instrumentarii* of the Republic, known as the *Caleffo Vecchio*, the *Caleffo dell' Assunta*, the *Caleffo nero*, the *Caleffo rosso* and the *Caleffetto*.

It is probably superfluous to remark that the *Antiquitates* of MURATORI contain documents relative to Siena.

CHRONICLES, DIARIES, &c.

MURATORI, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*.

Vol. XV. *Cronica Sanese* (*Andrea Dei; Angnolo di Tura; Neri di Donato*).

Vol. XX. *Historia Senensis*.

Vol. XXIII. *Cronica Senese di Allegretto Allegretti*.

Frammento di una Cronachetta Senese d' Anonimo del Secolo XIV per cura di N. MENGOZZI ed A. LISINI, Siena, Tip. Lazzeri, 1893.

La cronaca di Bindino da Travale (1315-1416) per cura di V. LUSINI, Siena, Tip. S. Bernardino, 1900.

Due Cronache sulla sconfitta di Montaperto, pub-

blicate per cura di GIUSEPPE PORRI nella
“ Miscellanea Storica Sanese, ” Siena 1844,
presso Onorato Porri.

Carlo Quinto in Siena nell' Aprile del 1536, relazione di un contemporaneo, pubblicata per cura di PIETRO VIGO, Bologna, G. Romagnoli, 1884.

Il Campo Imperiale sotto Montalcino nel MDLIII narrazione storica di Anonimo contemporaneo, pubblicata da L. BANCHI ed A. LISINI, Siena, Gati, 1885.

Diario delle Cose avvenute in Siena dai 20 luglio 1550 ai 28 giugno 1555 scritto da ALESSANDRO SOZZINI.

[This *Diario* is published in vol. II of the *Archivio Storico Italiano* (1842). It contains other narratives and documents relative to the fall of the Republic].

Relazione della Guerra di Siena di Don Antonio di Montalvo tradotta dallo Spagnolo da Don Garzia di Montalvo suo figlio, Torino, Tip. V. Vercellino, 1863.

Maresciallo di Montluc. L'Assedio di Siena secondo la narrazione contenuta nel libro III dei suoi Commentarj. Tradotto dall'Edizione Francese pubblicata nel 1872. Firenze, Soc. Tip. Fiorentina, 1905.

HISTORIES

MALAVOLTI, ORLANDO, *Historia de' fatti e guerre de' Sanesi*, In Venetia, 1599.

TOMMASI, GIUGURTA, *Historie di Siena*, In Venetia 1626.

PECCI, GIO. ANTONIO, *Storia del Vescovado della Città di Siena*, Lucca, 1748.

— *Memorie storico-critiche della Città di Siena* (4 vol.) Siena, A. Bindi, 1255-1760.

WORKS OF REFERENCE

Le Pompe Sanesi o' vero Relazione delli huomini e donne illustri di Siena e suo stato, scritta dal Padre Maestro Fr. ISIDORO UGURGIERI AZZOLINI. In Pistoia nella Stamperia di Pier' Antonio Fortunati, 1649.

Diario Senese opera di GIROLAMO GIGLI in cui si veggono alla giornata tutti gli avvenimenti più ragguardevoli spettanti sì allo spirituale sì al temporale della Città e Stato di Siena, con la notizia di molte Nobili Famiglie di Essa delle quali è caduto in acconcio il parlarne (seconda edizione) Siena, Tip. dell' Ancora, 1854.

Dizionario geografico fisico storico della Toscana contenente la descrizione di tutti i luoghi del Granducato &c. compilato da EMANUELE REPETTI, Firenze, 1833-1846.

Siena e il suo territorio. Siena, L. Lazzeri, 1862.

Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria vol. I-IV, 1894-1902, [vol. X-XIX, 1903-1913].

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- P. ROSSI, *Le Origini di Siena* — I. *Siena avanti il Dominio Romano*. II. *Siena Colonia Romana* (Conferenze tenute nella R. Accad. de' Rozzi per cura della Commissione Senese di Storia Patria, il 16 marzo 1895 ed il 3 aprile 1897) Siena, Lazzeri.
- G. RONDONI, *Sena Vetus o il Comune di Siena dalle Origini alla battaglia di Montaperti*, Estratto dalla *Rivista Storica Italiana* vol. IX, fascicolo I-II, anno 1892, Torino, Fratelli Bocca, 1892.
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- *Il Mercante Senese del Dugento*, Siena, C. Nava, 1900.
- L. BANCHI, *Gli Ordinamenti Economici dei Comuni Toscani nel medio evo e segnatamente del Comune di Siena*: Parte prima, *La Lira o l'Estimo* in “Atti della R. Accad. dei Fisiocritici di Siena,” Serie III vol. II, Siena, Tip. dell'Ancora, 1879.
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- F. PATETTA, *Caorsini Senesi in Inghilterra nel secolo XII* in “Buletтино Senese di Storia Patria” vol. IV, (1897) 311-344.
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- F. E. BANDINI PICCOLOMINI, *Del Conte Umberto di Guglielmo Aldobrandeschi da S. Fiora* negli “Atti e memorie della R. Accad. dei Rozzi” III, 73-83.
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- B. AQUARONE, *Dante in Siena ovvero accenni nella Divina Commedia a cose Sanesi*, Città di Castello, S. Lapi, 1889.
- C. PAOLI, *I “Monti” o fazioni nella Repubblica di Siena nella “Nuova Antologia” Serie III vol. 34, fasc. 15.*
- G. ARIAS, *La Compagnia Bancaria dei Bonsignori*, in *Studi e Documenti di Storia del Diritto*, Firenze, Successori Le Monnier, 1901.
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- *Il Feudo del Vescovado di Siena*, Siena Lazzeri, 1910.
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[It is published in successive numbers of the “ Arch. Stor. It. ”, beginning with the year 1869].
- A. PROFESSIONE, *Siena e le Compagnie di Ventura nella seconda metà del sec. XIV.* Civitanova, D. Natalucci, 1898.
- C. FALLETTI-FOSSATI, *Costumi Senesi nella seconda metà del secolo XIV.* Siena, Tip. dell’ Ancora, 1881.
- L. ZDEKAUER, *Lo Studio di Siena nel Rinascimento*, Milano, U. Hoepli, 1894.
- L. FUMI e A. LISINI, *L’incontro di Federico III Imperatore con Eleonora di Portogallo, sua novella sposa, e il loro soggiorno in Siena*, Siena, Tip. Lazzeri, 1878.

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— *La Battaglia di Montaperti*, Siena, Giuntini, Bentivoglio & C.^o].

HISTORICAL SKETCH

I hold that nothing is more withering in its effects, and nothing more contemptible, than a contempt for the glories of the past.

J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D. D., *Historical Essays*

Et pourtant, s'il fallait voir s'abîmer l'Italie avec son passé ou l'Amérique avec son avenir, laquelle laisserait le plus grand vide au cœur de l'humanité? Qu'est-ce que l'Amérique tout entière auprès d'un rayon de cette gloire infinie dont brille en Italie une ville de second ou de troisième ordre, Florence, Pise, Sienne, Perugia? Avant de tenir dans l'échelle de la grandeur humaine un rang comparable à ces villes-là, New York et Boston ont bien à faire.

ERNEST RENAN, *Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse*

The origin of Siena, like that of other Italian cities, is lost in a mist of legend. It was probably founded by the Etruscans, and then, falling under Roman rule, became the colony *Saena Julia*, in the reign of Augustus or a little earlier. Few memorials of the Roman era or of the first centuries of Christianity remain to us, and none

at all of the interval preceding the Longobard period. The city as we see it today is wholly mediæval (1).

According to a very ancient legend, which probably has some foundtion in fact, Siena was converted to Christianity early in the fourth century by Ansano, a noble Roman, who sealed his faith by martyrdom at Dofana on the Arbia. In 1107 his remains were brought into the city through the Porta Pispini, which thus acquired its alternative name of Porta San Viene, from the cry of the multitude who crowded thither to meet the sacred relics, shouting exultantly, *Il santo viene! Il santo viene!*

We have documentary evidence that during the reign of Rotharis (636-652) the Sienese church was governed by a bishop named Maurus; but all attempts to trace earlier bishops as far back as the 5th century have yielded only vague and contradictory results.

Early in the 8th century the famous controversy between the sees of Arezzo and Siena commenced, and it is to the numerous documents which refer to that protracted struggle that we

(1) This paragraph I have taken almost verbatim from Professor PAOLI'S *Siena* in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" (ninth edition) XXII, 39. The article in question is one of the most perfect examples of condensation combined with lucidity and accuracy with which I am acquainted. I have more than once yielded to the temptation to borrow from it.

owe nearly all the information which we possess concerning the government of the city during the Longobard period. From these we learn that Siena was not subject to the Dukes of Tuscany, but formed part of the royal patrimony or *fiscus*, and was administered by *Gastaldi*, one of whom, a certain Warnefred—*Magnificus Warnefred Castaldius Senensis Civitatis*,—founded the Abbey of S. Eugenio, which is known today as *il Monistero*. In the quarrel with Arezzo, Gastaldi and citizens alike espoused the cause of their bishops, and the uprising of the whole Sienese people (*Universus Senensis Populus*) to take vengeance on the Arentines (712) seems to point to a nascent sentiment of civic unity.

From the time of Charlemagne Siena was ruled by Counts of Longobard or Frankish race. Originally their jurisdiction extended from the Val di Chiana to Monticiano, and from Poggibonsi to S. Quirico in Osenna, where their contado marched with that of Chiusi. Thus the Val d'Orcia and the Val di Merse were outside the Sienese contado which, though long, was narrow, and, in the direction of the Maremma, scarcely passed the point where the Arbia joins the Ombrone.

About the middle of the 11th century, probably between the years 1053 and 1056, the Emperor Henry III granted and confirmed to John II, Bishop of Siena, many rights and privileges such as the possession, among other places, of the

Castellum Vetus (*Castel Vecchio*), the oldest portion of the city, jurisdiction over those who dwelt on the episcopal lands, and *judicium per pugnam* together with the right *facere munitiones in omnibus prædictis suæ Ecclesiae, ubicumque necessarium fuerit*, and that free from interference on the part of any Archbishop, Bishop, Duke, Margrave, Count, Viscount or other person whatsoever.

From this period the Sienese prelates possessed temporal as well as spiritual powers; and in the course of the next fifty years they succeeded in ousting the Counts from all jurisdiction in the city and district, although these latter still continued to represent the Empire more or less effectually in the towns of the contado.

Thereafter, in the first half of the 12th century, we find the Bishops and the Consuls associated in the government; but, by this time, the power of the former was on the wane; and the fate of Ranieri, who died in exile in 1170, suffices to prove how completely the Sienese emancipated themselves from ecclesiastical rule.

Already, in 1158, the Emperor had shown himself favourably disposed towards the Commune, and had granted *fidelibus nostris Senensibus*, that curious *privilegium* whereby the Counts of Orgia and the Seigniors of Orgiale were forbidden *ædificare aliquod castellum prope civitatem Senam usque ad duodecim miliara*. In the conflict between Barbarossa and the Pope, the Sienese espous-

ed the cause of the former and the authority of the Bishop received an irreparable shock. As loyal partisans of the Emperor, the Consuls were determined to compel the clergy to transfer their allegiance to the antipope, and actually went so far as to imprison certain *presbiteros meliores civitatis quos* (says Alexander, in a letter written from Benevento in 1168 or 1169) *non cariores habemus*. No diplomacy could prevent a collision, and Bishop Ranieri, a staunch adherent of the Pope, replied to the violence of the consuls by pronouncing the anathema of the Church against them and against their principal partisans, and by laying Siena and its suburbs under an interdict. A few weeks or months later he was compelled to flee for his life, never again to return to the city which he had ruled for forty years. The age of a government, half feudal, half theocratic, was over, and the greater, freer, and grander Imperial or Ghibelline period commenced.

Originally the government of Siena, like that of every other Italian commune, was essentially aristocratic. Indeed it was, perhaps, more aristocratic than many others in that it was more deeply impregnated with the feudal element. The consuls (of whose rule we have documentary evidence as early as 1125) were all nobles, and the order of *Magnati* or *Gentiluomini* from which

they were chosen was perfectly distinct from the merchants and artisans who formed the main body of the citizens. These latter, up to the middle of the 12th century, had no participation in the government of the state ; but unfortunately the nobles were not united, and, in 1147, their dissensions enabled the *popolani*, or lower classes, to enforce their claims to a share in the public offices. The consuls, who had previously been two in number, were increased to three by the admission of a *popolano*, and at the same time the General Council was reconstructed, a gap being thus made in the barriers of class privilege which was destined never to be closed again.

We are unable to fix the precise date of the abolition of the consulship ; but the institution of a foreign *potestà* (a form of government which became permanent in 1212) gave a severe blow to the elder magistracy. There was, however, no sudden or violent change, and for some years Consuls and Potestà ruled together, the authority of the latter gradually superseding that of the former, in much the same way as, half a century earlier, the power of the Bishops had passed into the hands of the Consuls. The constitution of the Commune was sufficiently elastic to permit of tentative arrangements, and, as late as 1262, a rubric was still to be found in the Sienese statutes whereby it was provided that the General Council should decide year by year whether they

preferred *habere potestatem sive consules* (1).

The institution of the *potestà forestiero* may probably be regarded as a popular victory, since the nobles were thereby ousted from the highest executive and judicial office in the gift of the Commune; and, in this connection, it is interesting to note that the year 1212 was marked by civic tumult. Then, as we learn from the chronicles, "St. Francis of Assisi came to Siena, and there was great enmity between the People and the nobles and he caused peace and unity to be made among them". According to the *Fioretti*, blood had already been shed when the saint intervened to stay the conflict. It would be, perhaps, too hazardous to affirm that these dissensions were due to the desire of the Nobles to reassume their old consular powers, but the coincidence of date is at least curious.

From this period the triumph of the democracy was merely a question of time. Already, in 1209, if we may credit Andrea Dei, were formed the *Compagnie per la Città delle Contrade*, to wit, those *Societates contratorum* or *armorum* upon which, in Siena as in Bologna, the organization of the People rested; while, as early as 1213, we have unimpeachable testimony of the existence of a *Societas Populi Senensis* which was

(1) *Costit. del C. di S.* Dist. I, Rubr. 135—A similar state of affairs seems to have existed in other Communes. See my *History of Perugia*, page 31.

governed by three Rectors. In an instrument of that year, drawn and attested by an imperial notary, these officials acknowledge that they have received from the Potestà *septemcentum libras den. Sen. pro facto penarum turrium*. The importance of this document can hardly be overrated, since it demonstrates that, from the beginning of the 13th century, the People, through their representatives, exercised jurisdiction over the towers; and what this implies we realize when we recall the fact that the towers were the special glory of the aristocracy, and that (as Malavolti tells us) “it was granted to many gentlemen to build them as an evidence of the splendour and nobility of their families”.

In Siena the problem of the factions is a complex one; but, in the 13th century, the strife between them was, as Professor Zdekauer remarks, above all else an economic strife. In the feudal period and, in fact, during the whole of the time during which the nobles dominated the commune, they seem to have enjoyed immunity from taxation, and it was only when the People obtained a share in the government that the *magnati* were at last compelled to bear their part of the common burden. Moreover, this reform was followed by another of almost equal importance. The first method of direct taxation was a duty or impost *pro foculari* or *per massaritiam*, a kind of family or hearth tax which was collected impartially

from rich and poor alike. A *massaritia* apparently consisted of a minimum of three persons. For a while attempts were made to obviate the injustice of this tax by varying the amount exacted according to the wealth and position of those from whom it was collected; but, as time went on, it was perceived that, in order to remedy the evil, a radical change was necessary. The new system, known by the name of the *Lira* or *Estimo*, was based upon the principle of assessment, each individual being taxed according to the declared value of his property. The first *Lira* was "made" in 1198, at about the time when the office of Potestà was introduced, (1) and I am disposed to believe that an attentive study of Sienese history enables us to discover a distinct connection between the successive popular victories and the various extensions of the *Lira*.

In the 12th and 13th centuries there was a perpetual influx of new citizens as the feudal seigniors of the contado were, one after another, compelled to accept the overlordship of the Comune; and, after the year 1225, it was required of each *civis novus*, as a condition precedent to his admission to the rights and privileges of citizenship, that he should declare the quantity

(1) According to Malivolti, the first Potestà was Orlando Malapresa of Lucca, elected in June 1199 (Sienese style); but, as early as 1197, in a submission of Asciano, we find a record of that office as well as of the Consuls.

and value of his possessions (*bona sua omnia alibrare*). His name was then duly registered in *uno libro cum tabulis* among the *cives maiores*, *mediocres* or *minores*—a classification which, if convenient and even necessary to insure equitable taxation, yet served to taint the communal institutions with that worst and most invidious of all forms of class distinction, an aristocracy of mere wealth (*nobilitas divitiarum*).

The new social standard, thus introduced, naturally aroused in the breasts of the rich *popolani* a desire to obtain entrance to the ranks of the *magnati*. The Commune interested itself in the creation of knights, contributing towards their expenses out of the public purse, and, by admission of members of the middle class to an order which had hitherto been open only to the nobles, did much to modify the old fundamental divisions of *milites* and *populus* (1). Nor was this the worst.

(1) The Cavalieri (*milites*) formed a class apart; and, although they were citizens, were governed by no special statute (*breve*) except with regard to their military duties. In their relations to one another they observed the *consuetudines feudorum* so far as the Commune would permit them to do so, and how chary, at first, was the Commune of interfering with those customs, we may infer from the fact that for many years the Potestà swore upon taking office: *Et pro aliquo maleficio, quod dominus fecerit vel comitteret in villanum vel hominum suum, captione vel liberatione, vel quocumque modo ipsum offenderet, eidem domino vel alii [qui] pro eo faceret, nullam penam faciam vel dampnum dabo.* (See *il più antico Constituto Senese*—1262-1270—Distinction V, Rubric. 34). The *Societas militum* possessed its own property; and its intercourse with the *Societas Po-*

By their loans to the Commune, the *Arti* obtained undue influence in the conduct of public affairs. Money became the criterion of worth. The old nobility were ruined by debt, and the commercial spirit so far prevailed that even the vengeance of the Republic began to take a pecuniary form. The *Memoriale delle offese* was the natural complement of the *Libro dei Censi* (1).

A further reform in the government was completed between 1233 and 1240, whereby a new magistracy of 24 citizens was created, which, from the number of its members, received the name of the CONSIGLIO DEI VENTiquATTRO. According to the best opinion, it consisted of twelve nobles and twelve *popolani* (2). Frankly devoted *puli* was regulated by special agreements which might have enabled them to live side by side without too much friction, had not the *milites*, by holding aloof in haughty contempt of mere merchants and artisans, taught the People to regard themselves as the true representatives of the entire Commune. Thus, even apart from their turbulence and tyranny, the *magniti* had from the first sown the seeds of their own subsequent ruin.

(1) The *Memoriale delle offese* (*Memorialis offensarum*) was a register wherein were officially entered, as in an open account, all the injuries and offences suffered by the commonwealth at the hands of her neighbours, to the end that they might be repaid in due season. It was published by L. BANCHI in the *Arch. stor. it.*, Series III, vol. XXII. (1875) pages 197-234.—The *Libro dei Censi* (*Liber Census et Reddituum*—the “Book of Tributes”) actually forms part of the same codex the *Memoriale delle offese*. The introduction to the former been printed by Professor L. ZDEKAUER, in an appendix to his *Vita pubblica dei Senesi nel dugento*.

(2) See, however, MONDOLFO. *Il Populus a Siena* (c. II. § 9): a work which should be consulted by every

ed to the imperial cause, this council proclaimed its political creed in its title, *XXIII. or partis Ghibelline populi civitatis et comitatus senarum*; and the *popolani*, finding it eminently adapted to assist them in the attainment of their ends, endeavoured in every way to augment its powers and to render it independent and supreme.

Under its protection they provided themselves with an official head in the person of the so called *Capitano del Popolo*—*Capitaneus populi et comunis* (a magistracy which, according to Andrea Dei, was established in 1253), and then created a council of their own, the *Consilium Generale Capitanei et Populi*. Here they enacted laws which, although at first only binding upon members of the *Societas Populi*, were, in the course of a few decades, imposed upon the Commune. Thus the People became a separate and independent political party with full consciousness of its ultimate aims and of the means by which those aims were to be attained. In 1255 it set up its own bell, on the pretext that the bell of the Commune was not loud enough—*cum campana Comunis non bene audiatur*; and, in a document of the period, we read of *unum sigillum Populi Senarum de octone in quo est quidam Leo designatus cum croce in capite*. This was the same lion which, if the legend is to be believed, the

student of the popular upheaval of the 12th and 13th centuries.

Emperor Otho gave to the People as their device in 1209, and which we still see blazoned about Siena. The book containing “the Ordinances of the People and the names of the men who are included in the Sienese People,” was *copertus de corio rubeo, et uno Leone bullarum cum croce bullarum in capite desingnatus*: while, in 1264, a certain Ventura di Gualtieri was condemned to pay a fine of 35 lire because he had painted upon a shield the figure of a lion standing over a prostrate she-wolf whose bleeding face he tore with his claws, an all too obvious emblem of the approaching subjection of the Commune to the democratic element.

During the rule of the nobles and the mixed rule of the nobles and *popolani*, Siena was engaged in a succession of petty wars with the feudal seigniors of her contado (Scialenghi, Aldobrandeschi, Pannocchieschi, Visconti di Campiglia, &c). (1) who, one after another, were compelled to make submission to the Commune; while, during the greater part of the 12th centuries, she was perpetually embroiled with Florence.

Siena was Ghibelline, Florence Guelf; either in the absence of the other might well have dom-

(1) Compare E. HUTTON. *In Unknown Tuscany* (Methuen, 1909) chap. X, where an excellent account is given of the relation of the Aldobrandeschi with the Commune of Siena in the 13th century.

inated all Tuscany; each had need of expansion, and their frontier lines were doubtful.

During the protracted hostilities which this state of things naturally produced, the arms of Florence were generally successful, and Siena, overmatched and overborne, was content for the most part to stand on the defensive, so that it could be truthfully said of her after a victory, *inde triumphasti pacem quia semper amasti*.

With the instinct of a people born to great destinies, the Florentines lost no opportunity of thwarting and crippling the rival commune; and the latter, fearing to be hemmed in, in the direction of Montepulciano, and so menaced at once both on the front and on the rear, put forth all her strength to preserve that lofty frontier city, the key of the Val di Chiana, together with the towns of Poggibonsi and of Montalcino. From Poggibonsi she might hope to arrest, at the mouth of her defiles, the advance of the enemy by the way of the Val d'Elsa; while from Montalcino she was able to dominate the Maremma, to guard against invasion from the direction of Montieri and Volterra, and to prevent herself from being cut off from her natural ally, imperial Pisa. But the enmity of Florence was tireless and implacable, and, not content with open hostilities, she intrigued perpetually, fomenting discord and rebellion among the tributary communes and vassals of the contado. As early as 1174, the bloody

victory of Asciano enabled her to dictate the harshest terms to her well nigh ruined neighbour, while in 1203, the iniquitous arbitrament of Ogerio pushed her frontiers southward as far as the Staggia, and Siena was forced to build the two strong fortresses of Montereccioni and Quercia-grossa to guard her new confines.

With Florence was united Orvieto, and the Sienese territory was horribly devastated, the insolent invaders extending their inroads up to the very gates of the city, and hurling from their mangonels asses “e altra bruttura”, over the walls. In 1230, they actually burst through the Porta Camollia and penetrated into the town as far as S. Pietro alla Magione; the Count Alberto di Mangone hung his shield upon the gate in token of victory; and, says the Florentine chronicler, “had they not been pitiful they might have destroyed all Siena with fire and sword”.

Montepulciano and Montalcino were lost, and the Aldobrandeschi divided in their allegiance. It appeared that Siena was doomed to destruction. She was surrounded on every side and clutched, as it were, in the claws of her relentless enemy. at last, it seemed, secure of her prey. But the indomitable Ghibelline city was not dismayed. She turned in the hour of her need to the blond and beautiful knight Manfred, (1) and, animated

(1) Biondo era e bello, e di gentile aspetto.

Purgatorio, III. 107.

by the most ardent courage, gathered all her forces for the final struggle. The great day of Montaperto (4. Sept. 1260) saw the haughty Florence humbled in the dust and her ancient people “ broken and brought to naught „. The flower of her army perished on the field of battle or were led captive by the victors ; while so great was the consternation of the fugitives that they abandoned all hope of further resistance and voluntarily exiled themselves from their native city.

For the moment the Guelf cause seemed lost, and Siena was supreme in Tuscany. Yet, as the event proved, she had conquered little more than the right to live, for scarcely, after more than a century of conflict, had she planted her heel upon the neck of her enemy, than the wheel of Fortune spun round, and the death of Manfred changed the whole aspect of affairs. The high hopes of the victors were buried with their suzerain beneath the *grave mora* at the bridge-head of Benevento ; the battle of Colle ruined the Ghibellines ; and Siena herself became Guelf.

During the decade which followed the Battle of Montaperto the march of events was rapid. On the 8th September Montalcino submitted and humbly sued for pardon ; on the 13th the Guelfs fled from Florence, and on the 16th the Count Giordano, the vicar of king Manfred, together with the Count Guido Novello and the Ghibelline *fuorusciti*, entered the city. In December

Pistoia made her peace with the victors; the following July Montepulciano surrendered and received a Sienese Potestà; only Arezzo and Lucca remained faithful to the Guelf cause; and of these the former was compelled to yield in 1262, the latter in 1264. With the accession of Lucca to the Ghibelline league the Florentine exiles lost their last refuge in Tuscany, and fled across the Apennines to Bologna, where, says Villani, “they abode in much discomfort and penury”.

Thus the Ghibelline arms were everywhere successful when the landing of Charles of Anjou at the mouth of the Tiber (May, 1265) and the decisive victory of Benevento (26 February, 1266) revived, in a moment, the apparently moribund Guelf party. In November, the always cowardly Count Guido Novello (1) fled from Florence, which was thenceforth lost to the Ghibellines; and, in the following year, Lucca, Pistoia, Volterra, Prato, San Gimignano and Colle di Val d’Elsa joined the Guelf league or *taglia* under the command of Philip de Montfort, whom Charles had sent to Tuscany with 800 French men-at-arms. Pisa and Siena alone remained Ghibelline, and all their hopes were centred on the youthful Corradino

(1) I am not, I trust, unjustly blackening the memory of this prudent gentleman. We shall see him again spurring hard out of the rout of Colle; while ten years later, at the Battle of Campaldino, it is recorded in the chronicle of Dino Compagni that “*il Conte Guido non aspettò il fine, ma senza dare colpo di spada si partì*”.

whom they earnestly besought to come to their assistance. Nor did they plead to deaf ears. In October, 1267, he arrived at Verona with 3000 men-at-arms and a considerable body of foot-soldiers; in January, 1268, he entered Pavia; in April he was at Pisa, and thence he advanced to Siena, there to be welcomed with the wildest enthusiasm. Poggibonsi flung off the Florentine yoke, and other towns prepared to follow her example; five hundred French men-at-arms fell into an ambush at Ponte a Valle, and such of them as were not cut to pieces were led captive to Siena; while to the southward the newly acquired kingdom of the Angevin blazed out into rebellion.

But the exultation of the Ghibellines was soon to be turned to mourning by the fatal day of Tagliacozzo, and by the tragic end of Corradino, two months later, on the Piazza del Mercato at Naples (29 Oct., 1268). For more than a year Siena remained faithful to a lost cause, and carried on a well nigh hopeless struggle against overwhelming odds. One after another the towns and castles of her contado fell into the hands of the Guelf exiles, who made their head-quarters at Colle di Val d'Elsa, and soon became so bold that they pushed their incursions even to the walls of the city.

Such a state of things was intolerable, and, on the 8th June, 1269, the Sienese marched out

of the Porta Camollia under the command of Provenzano Salvani (1). They were reinforced by some Pisan levies, and by the Count Guido Novello with a body of Florentine Ghibellines and German men-at-arms who had escaped from the rout of Tagliacozzo. In all, the army consisted of 1400 cavalry and 8000 footsoldiers.

The allies drew near to Colle on its eastern side and pitched their camp in the neighbourhood of the Badia a Spugna, which is situated on the left bank of the Elsa and quite close to Colle-basso.

The news of their advance reached Florence on the night of the 9th June, and to such good purpose did the vicar of Charles of Anjou bestir himself that he was able to set out the next morning with 800 men-at-arms, leaving orders for the infantry to follow with all possible speed. The road was long and hilly, but he reached Colle the same evening. The Sienese do not appear to have made any attempt to intercept him ; but, on the morning of the 11th they resolved to march round the western end of the town and to take up a stronger position on the level ground about S. Andrea delle Grazie, some half a mile to the south of Colle-alto ; and this movement they commenced with the utmost possible confidence, doubtless believing that the

(1) Mentioned by Dante in *Purgatorio*, XI.

enemy were as yet too few to venture an attack. Unfortunately the Guelfs were captained by an experienced soldier who knew how to seize his opportunities, and, while the Sienese were straggling through the Valle Buona, secure in their superior numbers, he suddenly sallied forth and, charging over the bridge which spans the Elsa below the Badia a Spugna, fell upon their left flank. The result justified his generalship and they were routed with great slaughter. Comparatively few prisoners were taken, for the memory of Montaperto made the victors pitiless. Among the dead was Provenzano Salvani. He was, it would seem, taken prisoner and killed in cold blood by Misser Cavolino Tolomei who thus revenged an ancient grudge. The head of the great Ghibelline was cut off and stuck upon the shaft of a spear and carried through the streets of Colle. As usual, the Count Guido Novello saved himself by flight.

Exulting in the triumph of his faction, a Lucchese chronicler writes : *Devicti sunt Senenses, et maxima strages de eis est facta, et multi sunt ibidem in bello mortui, multique capti, sed prae-cipue Senenses et Theutonici, qui sic sunt ex tunc in Thuscia extirpati, quod usque ad tempora praesentia nulla de ipsis fit mentio, quantum ad bella.*

This was the battle whereon Sapia looked, praying for the defeat of her fellow citizens, and

rejoicing in their flight with a joy so great and satisfying that, while yet the victors hacked among the fugitives, she cried aloud to the Almighty, “ *Omai più non ti temo*—Henceforth, O God, I fear thee not ” (1).

For a few months longer Siena continued to resist. In October military operations were stopped by torrential rains and she obtained a short breathing space which she utilized to prepare for a siege, to obtain supplies and to wall up many of the gates (2). But the death of Provenzano Salvani had deprived the People and the Ghibellines of the only leader who could have steered the ship of state through such tempestuous seas. *Iipse rector, ipse gubernator*, he had been the heart and soul of the *Parte Ghibellina*, in the days of Siena's greatest triumphs (3), with him “ *Toscana sonò tutta* ”, and he left no successor.

In the spring the Guelfs again took the field, and advanced to *il Monistero*, a scant mile from the walls. Thence they dictated terms of peace. On the 15th August the Ghibellines of Florence left Siena, even as six short years before the Florentine Guelfs had departed from Lucca. The

(1) *Purgatorio*, XIII.

(2) See page 4 *supra*.

(3) “ Provenzano Salvani . . . che fu l' anima nella lotta del Popolo contro i Signori, e dei XXIII, per la parte del Popolo ” — L. ZDEKAUER, *La Vita Pubblica dei Senesi nel Dugento*, pag. 78.

Government was reformed by the addition of twelve *boni homines* to the Twenty-four, the new magistracy being called the *Triginta sex Gubernatores Civitatis et Communis Senensis*, and for it both *popolari* and *nobili* were eligible.

What followed is thus succinctly recorded by Andrea Dei: "The Guelfs did not keep the peace; and the Ghibellines departed from Siena". And, in fact, that is about all that any of the chroniclers tell us. The result was war in the contado and disquiet in the city. In 1270 many Ghibelline palaces were destroyed. The Potestà swore *destruere et destrui facere radicibus palatium et turrin et Casamentum filiorum Salvani et filiorum Provenzani*. Charles of Anjou wrote to urge on the work of destruction. In 1273 he visited Siena; and, in the same year, the papal interdict was removed amid great public rejoicings. With one brief interval Siena had been excommunicated since 1260.

Thus did the imperial city forget her ancient faith to follow after strange gods; and it has been said with some truth that this change "was little less than suicide; she might lead the Ghibellines, but in the Guelfic party she could only sit below the salt".

It is a fascinating subject for conjecture what the result would have been had Siena remained faithful. She might have joined hands with the great Ghibelline Bishop, Guglielmo degli

Ubertini, and Campaldino might have had another issue. She and Arezzo might have done much to save Pisa from ruin, and the hegemony of Florence might have been delayed. That it could have been altogether averted is hardly possible. Wealth, then as now, formed the sinews of war and the commercial supremacy of Florence was already well nigh assured. To say nothing of the disabilities under which, through lack of water, the Arte della Lana laboured in Siena, the Sienese were already being rapidly surpassed in every branch of mercantile enterprise. In the first half of the century they had, it is true, held the foremost place, and the *Grande Tavola*, or *Tabula de Sena*, was still a name to conjure with both in Italy and beyond the Alps; but a large part of their success had been due to the fact that they had possessed an almost complete monopoly of the papal business, and as *campsores domini pp.* had enjoyed unprecedented advantages. These they lost by their loyalty to Manfred; and thus, in a sense, the victory of Montaperto may be said to have ruined Siena. The Pope not only excommunicated her, but transferred much of his business to the Florentine Guelfs; and before many years were over Siena was doomed to see herself outstripped by her ancient rival. Under these circumstances, alliance with Florence and reconciliation with the Pope doubtless recommended itself strongly to the Sienese merchants;

and that alliance and reconciliation could only be obtained by a change of political faith.

This change, as I have shown, took place in 1270, and it was followed, in 1277, by a great popular revolution which definitely started the Commune upon its dismal journey towards the depths of democracy.

Although the nobles had been compelled to acquiesce in a diminished authority, and to see the representatives of the People associated with them in the supreme offices of the state, their acceptance of the new regime had never been loyal, and they only awaited a favourable opportunity to recover the ground which they had lost. Such an opportunity appeared to be offered them by the events which followed the battle of Colle. The Twenty-four had fallen, and the popular cause had sustained a heavy blow in the death of Provenzano Salvani. Charles of Anjou was no friend of the People, and openly favoured the great Guelf houses. It was a period full of tumult and uncertainty. Might not the old consular families turn the Guelf victory to their own advantage and make themselves predominant in the party? At first it seemed that fortune favoured their designs and, anticipating an easy triumph, they refused to obey the laws and conducted themselves with the utmost violence. Their palaces in the city and their castles in the con-

tado were filled with assassins and bravoës ; they outraged and insulted the *popolani* ; they set the officers of justice at defiance, and at last, in August 1276, even ventured to attack the chief executive officer of the Commune.

It was evening, and the household of the Potestà were passing through the Strada di Camollia, whither they had come to arrest certain retainers of the Salimbeni. These refused to surrender and, after a short scuffle, took refuge in the palace of their patron (now the *Monte de' Paschi*). Hearing the uproar, misser Notto Salimbeni rushed out with more of his followers, and, in the fight which ensued, was wounded in the leg. On the following day, when the household of the Potestà again passed that way, they were assailed by the creatures of the Salimbeni, and a kinsman of the Potestà was slain. A great part of the city rose in arms, but misser Notto, notwithstanding his wound, put himself at the head of his retainers and went to the palace of the Ugurgieri, where the Potestà lodged, to burn it with fire and him therein. The Forteguerri and the Incontri interposed to keep the peace, but the Salimbeni were joined by other nobles, and, although the People rose in defence of the Potestà, he was besieged for two days, until the Forteguerri and “ the *Grandi* and *Popolo* of the Terzo di Città ” succeeded in conducting him in safety to the Palazzo degli Alessi, where he dwelt

for the remainder of his term of office. It seems, however, that he was unable to bring the Salimbeni to justice (1).

As a result of these disorders it was determined to exclude the nobles from the Supreme Magistracy for all time, and in the Consiglio Generale della Campana of 28 May, 1277, it was resolved that the THIRTY-SIX should be elected *de bonis et legalibus mercatoribus et amatoribus*

(1) I apprehend that in these events we may find an example of that more or less open antagonism which, throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, existed between the three *Terzi* of the city—an antagonism which the student of Sienese history can by no means afford to forget, since in it we find an explanation of many facts which would otherwise prove incomprehensible.

Originally Siena seems to have consisted of three separate fortresses. To the north was that of *Camollia*; to the south-west was *Castel Vecchio* or (as it is called in at least one document of the 11th century) *Castel Senio*; and to the south-east the *Castello di Val di Montone*. And herein, if we may credit the old writers, we discover the reason why, in Latin, Siena was spoken of in the plural number, *Senae, Senarum*.

According to the legend of the Origin of the City, the rivalry between these fortresses began at a very early date; and it is said that the Arms of the Commune, the party-coloured shield known as the *Balzana*, owes its origin to a portent which occurred at their first reconciliation. Peace had been made and the magistrates were sacrificing to Apollo and to Diana in what is now the Piazza del Campo, when from the one altar arose a very black smoke, from the other a smoke of singular whiteness, and, instead of mingling, the two columns floated away side by side, the white one uppermost. This the citizens accepted as a message from the gods, and accordingly they assumed the *Balzana* as the device of the now united city. (See L. BANCHI. *Le Origini favolose di Siena*. Siena, Tip. dell'Its. di S. Bernardino, 1882).

The three *Terzi*, however, remained in many respects

partis guelfe, and that among their number should not be included *aliquis de casatis*.

This exclusion of the nobles from the government and from the general body of the citizens had the effect of converting them from thenceforward into a separate caste, an aggregation of *casate* united together by the same interests, traditions, prejudices and offences. Thus was born the first of those political and social divisions

separate communities. Each had its own organization, civil, military and economic. The number of the Supreme Magistracy of the Republic, from the time of the consuls onwards, will be found to be nearly always a multiple of three—24, 36, 15, 9, 18 and so forth—and it was, as a rule, composed of an equal number of citizens taken from each *Terzo*; while, in the *Costituto del Comune* of 1262, it was provided that “*si contigerit potestatem Senensem stetisse vel habitasse in uno terçerio civitatis per annum, non debeat eius successor in eodem terçerio habitare, nisi duobus annis mediantibus*” (I.211). And all this was necessary because the interests of the three *Terzi* were often opposed, although, as a rule, in all cases of discord, the *Terzi* of Camollia and of San Martiho were leagued together against that of the City. Even in their games of *Pugna* and of *Elmora* this alliance was maintained. (See my *Palio and Ponte* Book II. chap. IV).

And now, having prefaced thus much concerning the *Terzi*, we may consider the tumults of 1276 in reference to those facts.

The Salimbeni, as we have seen, resided in the *Terzo di Camollia*. The palace of the Ugurgieri was in the *Terzo di San Martino*, in an angle of the city behind the church of S. Virgilio. The Incontri and the Alessi belonged to the *Terzo di Città*, and those who came to the rescue of the Potestà were, as Andrea Dei informs us (*Cronaca Sanese in MURATORI ad annum*) “*e Grandi e 'l Popolo del Terzo di Città*”. Thus we see that the *Terzo di San Martino* and the *Terzo di Camollia* were opposed to the *Terzo di Città* which alone defended the Potestà.

which, in Siena, were afterwards called *Monti*; the old consular families who were now excluded from office forming, together with their descendants, the *Ordine* or *monte dei Gentiluomini* (1).

And here it is important to note (what I shall have occasion to refer to at greater length hereafter) that the People—*la meza gente*, the middle class—which had thus made itself master of the state, was by no means synonymous with the proletariat, “the mutable rank-scented many” of Shakespeare’s *Coriolanus*. It did not even include the smaller tradesmen. The ruling oligarchy up to the middle of the 14th century was, in fact, as exclusive of the masses as it was of the nobles. Under its regime the *Arte dei Mercanti* properly so called, that is to say the bankers and the great importers and exporters, together with the *Arte della Lana*, retained all or almost all the power in their own hands. In a word,

(1) The *casate* excluded from the Government by the resolution of 1277 were the following:—

TERZO DI CITTÀ—Baroncelli, Bostoli, Incontrati, Forteguerri and Antolini, Mazenghi, Mainetti, Marescotti, Incontri, Golli, Alessi, Martinelli, Codennacci, Montecchiesi, Scotti, Gregori, Saracini.

TERZO DI S. MARTINO—Mignanelli, Trombetti, Sansedoni and Anconitani, Gherardini and Gottoli, Ugurgeri, Maconi and Abrami, Renaldini, Piccolomini, Ragnoni, Guastelloni, Ulivieri, Arzocchi, Pagliaresi, Cauli.

TERZO DI CAMOLLIA—Tolomei, Gallerani, Barbotti, Accarigi, Albizi, Provenzani and Salvani, Buonsignori, Ressi, Salimbeni, Viviani and Saracini, Ponzi, Montanini, Bulgarini, Malavolti, Rustichetti, Paganucci, Selvoles, Gazzanetti, Paparoni, Bandinelli and Cerretani, Senali and Ubertini.

it was an aristocrácy of wealth, a government of merchant princes—*boni et legales mercatores* (1).

In the year 1280 there were fresh tumults. The law excluding the nobles from the supreme magistracy was confirmed, and its numbers were reduced from 36 to 15, with the title of the *Quindici Governatori e Difensori della Repubblica di Siena*.

The first care of the new magistracy was to conclude peace with the rebels, in which they were assisted by the Cardinal Legate, and on the 29th September many of the nobles gave their adherence to the new regime. Moreover, it was decreed that the names Guelf and Ghibelline should be no more used in the Sienese dominion, and that every book, writing and ordinance which treated of those parties and of

(1) In view of the inaccurate statements sometimes made with regard to the character of this magistracy, I am tempted to emphasize the above remark by the following quotation from Mr. J. A. Symonds' *Age of the Despots* (edition of 1880, pages 50-51). He says; "Interpreting the present, and importing the connotation gained by the word *people* in the revolutions of the last two centuries, students are apt to assume that the *Popolo* of the Italian burghs included the whole population. In reality it was at first a close aristocracy of influential families, to whom the authority of the superseded Counts was transferred in commission, and who held it by hereditary right (compare the *pura cittadinanza* of Cacciaguida—*Paradiso*, XVI); and the technical terms *primo popolo*, *secondo popolo*, *popolo grasso*, *popolo minuto*, frequently recurring in the records of the Republics, indicate several stages in the progress from oligarchy to democracy. The *Commune* included the *Popolo* but was distinct from it".

their conservation should be burned. The office of the Captain of the Party Guelf was abolished, and it was forbidden, under heavy penalties, even to speak of Guelfs or Ghibellines or their equivalents.

An effort was also made to put an end to private feuds. The Tolomei were compelled to make peace with the Salvani, with the Arzocchi and with the Ponzi; the Incontri, the Piccolomini and the Forteguerra were in like manner reconciled with one another, while marriages were arranged between the families which had been at enmity.

In the last week in October the Ghibellines returned to the city. Some of the FIFTEEN went forth to meet them as far as Buonconvento, and the others, with all the Orders of the City, awaited them outside the gates embracing them and welcoming them with so much evident joy "that the entire people, and they likewise who returned, wept tenderly for great contentment of heart".

Thus did the ruling oligarchy endeavour to establish itself more firmly by the pacification of intestine discords. But it was too much to hope that hatreds which had been handed down from father to son for three generations could be extinguished by a simple kiss of peace, or that men who had been taught the sacred duty of revenge even at their mothers' knees, should be able to live in constant contact with former

enemies without remembering the old wrongs which cried aloud for vengeance. With what heart could a Salvani have joined hands with a Tolomei when he recalled the cruel work of 1269, and beheld the spot where once the lordly palaces of his house had stood, still covered with débris or lying vacant? Moreover, small as was in any case the prospect of a permanent pacification, the efforts of the new magistracy were rendered wholly nugatory by the unfortunate choice of Misser Matteo Rosso degli Orsini as Potestà. A bitter and bigoted Guelf, he assumed office in January, 1281, and the evident disfavour which he showed to the Ghibellines soon fanned the smouldering embers of discontent into a blaze. So great was the fear of tumult that it was resolved to banish certain of the more unquiet spirits. Among the exiles was Misser Niccolò Buonsignori who, only three years earlier, had, together with his brothers, received from the Magistrates of the Commune the honour of knighthood, at the festival of Our Lady of Mid-August. A member of the great banking house which bore the name of his family (1), and which was then at the height of its influence and renown, he was ill disposed to endure such an injury with patience. Filled with indignation he departed for

(1) The *Compagnia dei Buonsignori*, also known as *la grande table*, *magna tabula*, or simply *tabula de Sena*. See C. PAOLI, *Siena alle Fiere di Sciampagna*, pages 23-24.

Roccastrada, and there plotted against the government, hoping, with the aid of the *popolo minuto* and of such of the Ghibellines as had remained in Siena, to re-establish the nobles in office and to overthrow the Guelfs.

Niccolò took into his counsel the Count of Santa Fiora and many of the barons of the Maremma, and having gathered a force of 160 cavalry and a considerable body of foot soldiers, moved from Roccastrada, and reached Siena on the night of 13th July. They found the Porta all' Arco barred, but succeeded in forcing a way through that of the Castellaccia, and afterwards through the other gate of the Terzo di Città, whence they marched down the Casato and occupied the Campo, fortifying themselves in the palaces of the Belmonti towards San Martino. Then they raised the cry of "Death to the Guelfs!" and awaited an insurrection of the populace in their favour. They were, however, disappointed, since, besides the old Ghibelline families, only about 200 of the citizens joined them. Meanwhile the Potestà and the Signori Quindici had rung the great bell of the Commune, and the military companies of all the three Terzi were hastening to their aid. Many of the rebels were slain, many taken prisoners, while the remainder were compelled to flee for their lives. The slaughter was particularly great at the mouth of Malborghetto (now Via Giovanni Duprè); Misser Niccolò with a handful of his

followers escaped to Roccastrada, and some few of those who had occupied the Palazzo de' Belmonti held out till daybreak, when it was stormed by the household of the Potestà. The usual confiscations and destruction of palaces and towers followed. "And there departed from Siena Misser Ruffredi Incontri and all his house, and part of Forteguerra and of the Ugurgieri and Salvani, and Pagliaresi, and Ragnoni and many other folk".

Foiled in their attempt upon the city, the Ghibellines carried the war into the contado. Campagnatico was surprised and the garrison of Sant' Angelo in Colle cut to pieces. Then, pushing northward along the banks of the Asso and through range after range of tumbling hills, the rebels occupied Rigomagno on the Aretine border. The position was serious in the extreme. From Campagnatico they dominated all the Maremma, and cut off communications with Grosseto, while at Rigomagno they were in touch with Guglielmo degli Ubertini, the Ghibelline Bishop of Arezzo, lord of many castles in the Val d' Ambra, and a tried and valiant warrior. The Quindici, however, were equal to the occasion, the militia of the Terzo di San Martino were called out, Rigomagno was stormed with great slaughter, and Misser Ranieri Belmonti, the captain of the garrison, was taken prisoner and beheaded as a traitor (1).

(1) As in the Pistoiese, the contado was divided into three districts which corresponded to the division of the

In February 1282, Florence, Lucca, Prato, Volterra and Siena entered into an alliance for the common defence, and, though no doubt the hopes of the Ghibellines were raised by the news of the Sicilian Vespers, they were afraid to move; while ere long all eyes were turned toward Pisa, whose fleet had been destroyed in the bloody battle of Meloria (1284), but who was still fighting desperately against overwhelming odds.

Towards the end of October 1285, the Sienese *fuorusciti*, with the aid of the Bishop of Arezzo, made themselves masters of Poggio Santa Cecilia, a strongly fortified castle a few miles to the north-west of Rigomagno. " And (says an old chronicler) they held the place against the Sienese and the Florentines and all Tuscany for fourteen months and eighteen days, until they were compelled to eat rats and to gnaw the leather of their shields; and they collected the dew for the thirst which they had... Finally, on the night of Good Friday, being, able to endure no longer, they abandoned the castle and issued forth and fled during a great rain; and so they saved themselves alive ". Nevertheless, according

city into Terzi. The contado thus represented a circle divided into three vast sectors, each of which contained at its apex the Terzo to which it belonged. Rigomagno was in that part of the contado which corresponded to the Terzo di San Martino; and this, I presume was the reason why the militia of San Martino were called out to attack it. Compare my *History of Perugia*, p. 347.

to Andrea Dei, “ many of them were taken as they went forth and were led to Siena. And while they were in the Palace of the Potestà, whither they had been taken to be put to death, the people rose in tumult, crying ‘ Peace ! Peace ’ and they began to attack the Palace. Wherefore the Nine who then governed the State (*sic*) were afraid, and they gave them the gonfalon and surrendered unto them the prisoners. Then the people took the prisoners to the Palace of the Bishop who had come to their aid when the tumult commenced. And they were by themselves, and the Guelfs with their followers set upon them in the Campo ; and they brake them and discomfited them, the Monday after Easter ; and they gat them to the Palace of the Bishop, and drew forth the prisoners and led them into the Campo ; and there they cut off the heads of five of the chief among them, and the rest they hanged between the Arbia and the Bozzone ; and the number of them was sixty ”. Poggio Santa Cecilia was razed to the ground.

Two years later the Sienese troops fell into an ambush at the Pieve al Toppo, and lost “ between dead and wounded more than three hundred of the best citizens of Siena (1) ; ” but, in the following year, the Battle of Campaldino finally

(1) The “ *giostre del Toppo* „ of Dante, *Inferno* XIII. 121.

destroyed the last hopes of the Ghibellines, and Tuscany, with the exception of the half-ruined Pisa, became wholly Guelf. Even the descent of the Emperor Henry VII into Italy could not rekindle burnt out fires ; and when he died at Buonconvento in 1313, the old Ghibelline families of Siena, who had peaceably left the city sixteen months earlier at the desire of the government, returned as peaceably. The precaution of their temporary banishment had hardly been necessary.

The merchant Oligarchy was by this time firmly established in power. The solemn reconciliation of the Guelfs and Ghibellines in 1280, futile and short-lived as it had proved, was at any rate a sign of the complete subjection of the nobles. From thenceforth the People was master of the Commune. It took, however, nearly sixteen years to consolidate its authority and to finally settle its form of government (1277-1292). At first, as we have seen, the number of its Supreme Magistracy was THIRTY-SIX and then FIFTEEN. In 1287 these were reduced to NINE. Later on, for a little while (1 Feb., 1290, to 31 July, 1291) they were increased to EIGHTEEN ; the year following they fell to SIX ; and it was only in 1292 that the number of the Governors and Defenders was definitely fixed at NINE. These changes, however, are simply indications of a search for the most workable number, and not

of any dissensions among the *boni et legales mercatores* who constituted the ruling class. The THIRTY-SIX, the FIFTEEN, the EIGHTEEN and the SIX were, in fact, only embryonic forms of the NINE; and the NINE— “*Li signori NOVE Governatori e Difenditori del Comune e del Popolo di Siena*” —the remained until the fall of the *Popolo di mezzo*, sixty-three years later.

In May, 1309, the *Consiglio Generale della Campana* ordered that the statute of the Comune should be translated into the vulgar tongue “to the end that poor folk and other persons who know not latin (*gramatica*) may be able to see and copy the same at their will”. The translation was to be written “in fair large letters, legible and well formed, on good parchment”, and was to be kept in Biccherna. The work was completed in 1310, and the sixth *Distinction* which treats *del officio de li Signori Nove* (1) enables us to form a very clear idea of the way in which those merchant oligarchs ruled Siena.

At the head of the Commune were the so-called ORDERS OF THE CITY (*Ordini della Città*),

(1) This *Distinction* has been edited by Monsieur J. LUCHAIRE. The text of the statute is, of course, printed in the original Italian, but the introduction (of which I have made considerable use in the following paragraphs) and the notes are in French, a fact which will make that portion of the work accessible to most readers.

[In the spring of 1903, the entire *Costituto* was published. See page 8 *supra*].

consisting of 1st. the SIGNORI NOVE; 2nd. the CONSULS OF THE CHEVALIERS (*consules militum, consoli de' Cavalieri*); 3rd. the CONSULS OF THE MERCHANTS (*consoli de' mercanti; consoli della mercanzia*); and 4th. the FOUR PROVEDITORS OF THE COMMUNE (*Quattro Provveditori*).

In the hands of these Orders rested the election of the legislative body, the *Consiglio Generale della Campana*; so that they were, in fact, the source of all authority. But their share of power was not equal. The *Provveditori*, who, with their *Camarlingo*, were the administrators, financiers and treasurers of the Commune, were an ancient and responsible magistracy (1), but they were dependent upon the *Nove* and the *Consoli della mercanzia* who appointed them. The *Consoli de' Cavalieri* represented the nobility (2); but it is absurd to suppose that the Nobles, defeated and discriminated against as they were, exercised any real influence in the State. Moreover the *Consoli de' Cavalieri* were not elected by the Nobles, but by the other Orders of the City, so that the title was little more than a derisory one.

The *Nove*, on the other hand, were always mentioned first among the Orders, and were the

(1) As to the *Quattro Provveditori* and the magistracy of *Biccherna*, to which they belonged, see my *Pictorial Chronicle of Siena*, pages 16-28.

(2) See page 28, note I, *supra*.

real Governors, uniting in themselves almost all authority. They were further practically self elected, since it was the *Nove* who appointed their successors, selecting them exclusively from their own class, according to the rubric of their statute which provides “che li signori Nove..... sieno et essere debiano de mercatanti de la città di Siena, overo de la meza gente”. Besides the *Nove* no one was permitted to take part in this election except the Consuls of the Merchants.

Thus all power, all authority, all the functions of the State were concentrated in the hands of a merchant aristocracy. On this point the Statute of the Nine is convincing. It would be impossible to imagine any more perfect type of a government of capitalists.

The statute provides that the *Signori Nove* “shall have full power over all the affairs of the Commune, and that all which they shall do, resolve or order for the good of the People of Siena shall have the force of law”. From the very earliest times, the outgoing officials of the Commune had been held strictly accountable for their actions while in office (1); but the *Nove*, in spite of the enormous extension of their powers, were not subject to the *sindacamento*. In other words, they incurred no responsibility for their official acts. Moreover, great precautions were

(1) See *A Pictorial Chronicle of Siena*, page 26.

taken to render this inviolable government the uncontaminated organ of the class from which it emanated, and to prevent any possible collusion between it and other social or political divisions of the body politic. Not only were the Nobles *di casato*, the old consular families, excluded from the Magistracy of the Nove, but also knights (*Cavalieri*), judges, notaries and physicians; while *per contra* any citizen who had formed part of the Nove was *ipso facto* disqualified from becoming either *Console de' Cavalieri* or *Capitano della Parte Guelfa*. It was determined to set up an impregnable barrier between the two rival classes. Ghibellines, naturally enough, were excluded from the Magistracy. They were excluded also from “any other office in the Commune of Siena”; and by Ghibelline, in this connection, we must understand any person suspected of leanings towards that faction.

On the other hand, the *Nove* were guarded against themselves with almost equal care, and especially against the temptation to seek to perpetuate their power, either in their own hands or in those of their families. The bourgeoisie, at the same time that they established their own class in authority, took care to maintain the most scrupulous equality among its members. The Magistracy of the *Nove* held office for two months only, and no member of an outgoing Magistracy could be re-elected to serve as his own successor.

Two near kinsmen could not be members of the *Nove* at the same time, nor could they succeed one another in office. It was further provided that the Consuls of the Merchants and certain other important officials could not be called to the Supreme Magistracy until six months after they had completed their terms. Nor can we doubt that these precautions were effectual, since during all the time that the merchant oligarchy ruled the State, we have no instance of any of their number attempting to raise himself above his peers. “The Government of the *Nove* was, at one and the same time, the strongest and the least personal it is possible to conceive of”.

For the rest, at this period, both the Potestà and the Captain of the People lost much of their power, while the General Council became a mere mouthpiece of the *Nove* by whose suffrages it had been called into being and whose creature it was.

Clothed with such vast and unfettered authority, it is a startling tribute to the wisdom, righteousness and patriotism of those old merchants that they did not abuse their position more than they did. They were a class of exceptional men, strong to labour and to endure, shrewd, far-sighted and iron-willed, with family traditions behind them which kept them brave and honest—an aristocracy of wealth, but also an aristo-

cracy of worth, optimates in the best sense.

These were the men whose sires had travelled land and sea; had built palaces in London and purchased cloth in Flanders; had fought the Florentines at Montaperto, and stormed the almost impregnable heights of Campiglia d' Orcia; had visited half the capitals of Europe, and grown very wise and wily in dealing with kings and princes. Their honour, perhaps, was the honour of the ledger and of the counter, their courage rather that of the burgher than of the knight; but that courage, such as it was, sufficed to guard the rights of the Commune, and that honour to keep their hands clean in the administration of public affairs (1).

Under their rule Siena enjoyed a long period of peace and of prosperity; the borders of the state were enlarged until the dominion embraced almost all the modern provinces of Siena and of Grosseto; a friendly alliance was maintained with Florence; trade flourished; the city was embellished with splendid edifices; the Palazzo Pubblico was built, and the walls of its lordly chambers were

(1) For the benefit of those who do not read Italian, I may mention that a certain amount of information concerning the Sieneese merchants may be obtained from Mr. LEWIS EINSTEIN'S *Italian Renaissance in England* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1902). He devotes an entire chapter to "The Italian Merchant in England".—See also my "*Ensamples*" of *Fra Filippo, a study of mediaeval Siena*, pages 43-47, and the whole of the first section of chapter IV, pages 137-161.

clothed with the masterpieces of Ambrogio Lorenzetti and Simone Martini; the Torre del Mangia - incomparably the noblest tower in Italy - sprang, like a flight, into middle air (1); and the enlargement of the cathedral was commenced on such a scale as would have made it one of the grandest, if not the grandest, temple in the world. Nor was learning neglected; the ancient University was imbued with new life by the migration thither of Bolognese scholars; while, finally, those charitable institutions which are the pride of modern Siena increased and prospered.

Unfortunately, however, as years rolled by, the ruling oligarchy deteriorated, and became ever less and less mindful of the fact that they were the Governors and Defenders of the whole Commune and the whole People. Unlimited and irresponsible power sapped their energy and their virtue; they grew more and more careless of the public weal, and more and more careful of the privileges and advantages of their own class. Then the great pestilence swept over Italy (1348), and

(1) "I stood in the piazza and saw the Tower of the Mangia leap like a rocket into the starlit air. After all, that does not say it; you must suppose a perfect silence, through which this exquisite shaft for ever soars. When once you have seen the Mangia, all other towers, obelisks and columns are tame and vulgar and earth-rooted; that seems to quit the ground, to be not a monument but a flight"—W. D. HOWELLS, *Tuscan Cities*.

for a time obliterated many of the social landmarks. There was a plethora of money ; men were unwilling to labour at their accustomed trades, and, as Agnolo di Tura tells us, “ All those who remained alive lived as if they were brethren ; and every man was familiar and jested with his neighbour, as though they were kinsmen ; and ever they feasted and made merry ; for to every each of them it seemed that he had regained the world ”. Yet, rejoice as might the survivors of that horrible calamity, they were but a pitiful remnant of the hundred thousand souls who had thronged the streets of the city but a year earlier (1). Siena had received a blow from which she never wholly recovered ; and the rule of the Nove which had been unwillingly borne even when the Commune was great and prosperous, was now felt to be unendurable. Again and again, nobles, judges, notaries and populace had risen in furious revolt against that intolerant oligarchy, and now, at last, their day of vengeance was at hand.

(1) As I am fully aware, the statement of the old writers that in 1348 the population of Siena was 100,000, is generally supposed to be an exaggeration (See *The “ Ensamples ”*, of Fra Filippo, &c., *op. cit.* pages 43 n., 94); but before the reader definitely makes up his mind on this point, I would suggest that the considerations presented by Signor G. SALVEMINI in Cap. II., § 5, of his *Magnati e Popolani in Firenze* (Firenze, Tip. Carnesecchi, 1899), are worthy of some attention.

In 1354, Charles of Luxemburg descended into Italy to receive the imperial crown; and, at the same time, he took care to distribute privileges and to collect subsidies. On the 18th January, 1355, he reached Pisa, and halted there to receive the homage of the ambassadors of the various Tuscan communes. It was a century of merchants. The heroic struggle between Emperor and Communes was a thing of other times, unknown and incomprehensible to this age of sleek burghers, intent only on the counter and the till. The Communes were satisfied to secure their proper sovereignty by the purchase of imperial confirmations, and to obtain for their supreme magistrates the title and authority of vicars of the Empire; the Emperor thought only of filling his treasury; so many privileges, so many thousands of florins; a simple question of accounts, and the contract was made (1).

In this matter Florentines and Sienese were in full accord, but it seems that the latter, or at any rate the *Nove* on their behalf, overstepped the mark. Alarmed at the ever increasing discontent of the citizens, and wishing to make sure of imperial protection at any cost, they had instructed their orators to swear fealty to Charles, to

(1) In the following pages I have made considerable use of the late Professor PAOLI'S '*Monti' o fazioni nella Repubblica di Siena*.

offer him the obedience of the city, and to submit themselves fully to him,“ without reserving any franchise of the ancient liberty of the Commune,,. This abject surrender of every right greatly displeased the Florentines, who saw in it a grievous peril to Tuscan liberty, and in a moment alienated their sympathies from that government with which they had lived in perfect harmony for so many years. Nor was the action of the *Nove* any better received in Siena, where it was felt that they had shamefully abused their powers. Misser Guccio de' Tolomei, the head of the Sienese embassy, after listening to the representations of the Florentines, was afraid to make so ample a submission without a more explicit mandate. The delay aroused Charles' suspicions, and the *Nove* found that, in their attempt to obtain the imperial favour, they had overreached themselves. The Nobles and the lower classes alike vied with each other in demonstrations of devotion to the Emperor, and while, at first, they had shown themselves anxious to defend the liberty of the Commune against the pusillanimous concessions of the *Nove*, they were now equally zealous in exciting the distrust of the Emperor against that magistracy whose overthrow they so ardently desired.

For the moment, Charles granted the requests of the *Nove*, conceding privileges, the title of Vicars of the Empire, and sending forward his marshal with 150 men-at-arms to their de-

fence. He was resolved as yet to keep up appearances, although he now not only doubted their good faith, but also suspected their weakness.

In this unpropitious humour he came to Siena, on the 23rd March 1355, to be reverently welcomed by the Magistrates and hailed with the utmost enthusiasm by the Nobles and the masses. With shouts of *Viva l'Imperatore!* mingled ere long the sinister cry of *Muoia li Nove!* On the night of the 24th, many of the chains of the city were cut by the Nobles—those chains which, nearly half a century earlier, the merchant oligarchy had caused to be placed in all the principal streets, to the end that they might be barricaded at a moment's notice against the charge of an iron-clad cavalry. A perpetual token of their subjection to the *Popolo di mezzo*, it was fitting that the Nobles should cut them now, when the government of the *Popolo di mezzo* was tottering to its fall (1). Before morning the gates of the City had been burned, the houses of some of the

(1) These chains were bolted to the walls at a height from the ground of a little more than a yard. Several of the old bolts are still to be seen in Siena, e. g. in the Via Cavour almost opposite the Via di Vallerozzi; in the Via de' Rossi, in the Via di Città, and in the Casato. According to Andrea Dei "si cominciarono a porre le catene per le vie di Siena nel mese di Giugno 1312"; and, in 1339, as we learn from the researches of Sig. Cav. A. LISINI, there were nearly 300 of such chains. (See the *Miscellanea storica senese*, vol. IV (1896) pag. 198-201).

merchants had been attacked, and the Emperor had not interfered to protect the Magistrates or to maintain order.

By daybreak, all the city was under arms. Headed by the Nobles, the populace rose in furious revolt. The *Nove* were thrust forth from their palace, and they and their adherents were hunted through the city like wild beasts. "And so were they wounded and slain throughout the city in this place and in that; and no man spoke on their behalf; but they that looked thereon shrugged their shoulders. Wherefore all the *Nove*, and their brethren and sons and kinsfolk, fled to hide themselves; and they were all robbed, and there was no man who would receive, or regard, or hearken unto them, neither the religious orders nor other folk..... And many infamous things were spoken against the *Nove*; they were called thieves and traitors,.... and he that could say any worse thing of them hesitated not to say it". The Emperor openly aided the insurgents, and, after formally ratifying the deposition of the Magistrates and revoking every privilege which he had granted them, appointed a commission of twenty citizens to reform the State. Then, on the 28th March, he departed for Rome, where, on Easter day the 5th April, he received the imperial crown at the hands of the papal legate.

Thus suddenly and ingloriously fell the government of the *Nove*, and that intelligent and

industrious class (which, from the number of its chief magistracy, was called the *Monte dei Nove* or *de Noveschi*) was, like the *Monte de' Gentiluomini*, set aside. Ancient hatreds and newborn ambitions had overthrown it, but from the day of its fall the Republic never again enjoyed the same prosperity. New *Monti* sprang into being without, destroying the old ones; the conflict between the various classes, whether political or social, became ever more fierce and more implacable; and nevermore, until she closed in her death-grapple with Spain and with the Medici, was there unity in Siena. Indeed it seemed as if she were seeking to deserve the bitter judgment which Philippe de Comines passed upon her some century and a half later, when he declared that "*la ville est de tout temps en partialité et se gouverne plus follement que ville d'Italie*".

The commission nominated by Charles IV created a magistracy of TWELVE *popolari*, with a consultative college of twelve (others say six) *Gentiluomini*. The number of the new magistracy gave its name to a new faction, consisting of citizens of a lower class than those who had constituted the *Noveschi*. Thus, when we speak of the *Dodici*, we refer not so much to the number of those who composed the supreme magistracy of the Republic as to the class or *consorteria* from which the members of that magistracy were

exclusively drawn. From whatever point of view we regard them, the *Dodici* were vulgar, incapable and turbulent. Consisting of retail tradesmen (“*Negotiatores abiecti*” Pius II calls them in his Commentaries), their souls did not soar above their pockets, and they lived and governed in an atmosphere of continual strife.

Almost the earliest use they made of their new authority was to rob the State. Neri di Donato (himself one of the *Monte de' Dodici* and whose father sat in the Supreme magistracy of the *Signori Dodici* in March and April, 1360) records, under the year 1355, that “in June they practised many and great barratries (*fè molte e grandi barattarie*) in their Office. Wherefore the Potestà of Siena made inquest and process against them; and he took Misser Giovanni dell'Acqua, who had been of the said magistracy, and his guilt being proved, caused him to be beheaded as a forger with the mitre upon his head; and Guccio Pieri and Ser Iacomo, the son of Domenico Ricci, who were likewise members of the magistracy, he proclaimed as outlaws. They could not be arrested, therefore were they outlawed”.

The *Dodici* soon quarrelled with the consultative College, and, in June of the same year (1355), the *Gentiluomini* were compelled to withdraw from the government. The principal characteristic of the new faction was, however, its intense hatred for the *Nove*—the petty envy and

dislike of the small shop-keeper for the wholesale merchant. With almost feminine spite, the very name of the *Nove* was erased from the public statutes; but persecute their predecessors as they might, the *Dodici* were quite incapable of emulating their industry and wisdom, or of maintaining the Republic in the same prosperity and greatness as it had heretofore enjoyed.

It is true that the times were perilous, and that the difficulties which confronted the *Dodici* might well have puzzled wiser heads than theirs; but, when all allowances have been made, it is indisputable that they showed themselves supremely incompetent. Numerous dependent towns revolted; the Sienese territory was overrun by Companies of Adventure who had to be bought off with great sums of money; and there were long and bitter quarrels with Perugia (1) and with Grosseto. Indeed, during the thirteen years that those miserable tradesmen misruled the State, Siena had little to congratulate herself upon. Her one great success, the rout of the Compagnia del Cappello near Torrita in the Val di Chiana (1363), was due to Misser Ceccolo degli Orsini of Rome, who was in command of the Sienese levies and who attacked against the orders of the Magistrates; and “he was not confirmed in

(1) See my *History of Perugia*, Chap. XVII, and, somewhat less fully, in *Bullettino senese di st. patria*, anno XIV, fasc. III.

in his office, because he had been commanded not to join battle by reason of the peril which might befall therefrom; and for this he was not re-elected". Nevertheless, the Signoria were not ashamed to make pomp of the victory they had tried their best not to win; and they "caused the said discomfiture to be depicted in their Palace in the Hall of the Arbalists" (1).

In the city matters were even worse than in the contado. The ancient feuds between the great houses, so far from being assuaged, became daily more violent, since the magistrates did not scruple to foment them with a view to weakening the nobles; and soon the faction of the *Dodici* itself split into two parties. One of these, the most respectable, was called *dei Caneschi*, and attached itself to the Tolomei; the other, *dei Grasselli*, which was headed by the Salimbeni, was turbulent and lawless, and soon absorbed the dregs both of the *Gentiluomini* and of the *Popolani*. On this latter alone were the Govern-

(1) "La detta sconfitta li Signori Dodici la fecero de-
pegnare in Palazzo nella sala delle Balestre" — *Cronica Sa-
nese* in MURATORI *ad annum*. The Sala delle Balestre is,
of course, the same as the Sala del Mappamondo. In the
MILANESI *Documents*, I. 28, it is recorded that in 1373
Maestro Luca di Tommé was paid for a picture which he
had painted by the order of the Consiglio Generale "to
the honour and reverence of St. Paul the Apostle, at the
time that the Commune of Siena conquered the *Compagnia
del Cappelluccio*". The Sienese fought to the battle-cry of
"Saint Paul".

ment able to depend, and they early realized by how many and great perils they were threatened. The chronicler Neri di Donato thus sums up the position in words which constitute a veritable picture: “ *E Signori Dodici di Siena entrarono in grande paura dell’aria, e fero molti Barigelli per la Città in ogni Terzo, e con molti fanti, e diero loro grandissima balia, che di fatto ammannajassero chiunque tossisse contra loro, e fero molti ordini e forti chi ricordasse Imperadore, e fero murare le porti* ” (1).

The Government of the *Dodici* came to an end in the latter part of the year 1368; and, in the complicated vicissitudes of those days, Nobles, People and Emperor were alike concerned. That summer so violent were the dissensions between the two parties that the magistrates themselves, in the very Palace of the Commune, drew their knives upon one another—*ed erano per accoltellarsi*. At the end of August matters

(1) “The Signori Dodici entered into great fear of the air, and made many Sheriffs (*Bargelli*) through the City in every Terzo, with many soldiers (under them); and gave them passing great authority to behead whosoever should cough against them, and they issued many and strict orders against whosoever should bring to remembrance the Emperor, and they caused the gates to be walled up”. —The phrase *chi ricordasse Imperadore* is by no means easy to translate; but, if it bears the meaning which I have given it, it depicts in a forcible manner the uneasiness of the *Dodici*, when even the friendly Emperor was a source of alarm.

came to a head, for (says the old chronicler) “the party of the *Dodici* which was called *Grasselli* spake unto the *Salimbeni* which held with them and said, *Arm you, and make you ready to battle, because the Caneschi are gathered together and conspire against us.* And, in like manner, the *Caneschi* spake unto the *Tolomei* which held with them, saying, *Be ye valiant, and make ready, because we hear that the Grasselli have conspired together against us and are gathering to battle.* For this cause the *Gentiluomini* assembled in Siena, they and the *Nove*, eight thousand fighting men. And nobles of Siena, beholding the iniquity of these *Dodici*, and that they sought to cause the nobles of Siena to cut one another to pieces, made peace and amity among themselves, and promised and swore fealty together, generally the one with the other, all the nobles of Siena; and they promised the *Popolo minuto* and the *Nove* to reform the government according to their will. Thereafter, on the 2nd day of September, they sent to tell the *Signori Dodici* that they willed that the Palace should be given up to them, and were minded to reform the City; and incontinently, without stroke of sword, the *Dodici* gave up the Palace and the Signory to the nobles. Wherefore the nobles entered into the Palace and had the rod of office (*bacchetta*), and the seals, and the bells, and all the fortresses of Siena, and reformed the City”.

The new Signoria, consisting of thirteen magistrates (10 *Gentiluomini*, and 3 *Noveschi*), adopted the style and title of Consuls, in memory of the heroic age of the Commune. Their government, however, endured but a few days. The Salimbeni (although they were represented among the Consuls) at once sold themselves to the *Dodici*, while the *Popolo* beheld with uneasiness an aristocratic reaction *contra statum popularem*. Nor was the Emperor any better pleased. From the *Dodici* he had received submission; and, with their aid and that of the Salimbeni, he hoped to acquire a more direct dominion in Siena.

On the 5th September he arrived in Lucca, and hardly had the news of the revolution reached him, than he sent forward Malatesta da Rimini, the Imperial Vicar, with 800 men at arms. On the 23rd September, Malatesta encamped at Fontebecchi, and in the name of the Emperor demanded possession of the City. The people, ever imperialist, together with the Salimbeni and the *Dodici*, took up arms, and hewed down the gate of San Prospero. With the cry of *Vivat dominus Imperador et Populus!* they rushed to the attack. The fray began at Sant' Andrea, "and thither came Gentlemen of all the noble houses (*d' ogni Casata*); and the Consuls which were in the Palazzo came; and there was a great and grievous battle".

Finally the imperial troops were victorious.

Demum populus ad Campum veniens expugnavit palatium ubi erant Consules, qui prostratis januis, intraverunt, et sic expulsi fuerunt Consules. Such is the terse official account of the notary of the Palace, Jacopo Manni. He adds: *Ego Jacobus Manni notarius vidi hec, quare semper fui in palatio, cancellarius a prima die septembris predicti* (1).

A Council of 124 *Riformatori* created a new magistracy *de duodecim popularibus* which took office on the 24th. However, the faction of the *Dodici* had no longer exclusive control, for the *duodecim populares* consisted of 4 *Dodicini*, 3 *Noveschi* and 5 of the *Popolo minuto*. Thus the lowest class of citizens were at last admitted to the government; and possibly not to its disadvantage. Things had come to such a pass that no change could be for the worse; and the artisan is generally a more honest and virile specimen of humanity than the counter-jumper.

The nobles paid dearly for their twenty-two days of authority, for, after their overthrow, they were excluded not only from the Signoria as heretofore, but also from the Councils and minor

(1) It may be of interest to note that, in this revolution, the painter Andrea di Vanni took a prominent part. During the rule of the *Riformatori* he occupied many of the most important offices of the Republic—See MILANESI *Documenti*, I. 304, 305, and compare the *Arch. stor. it.*, IV. 41 note.

offices of the Commune. The Salimbeni, on the other hand, were permitted to inscribe themselves among the *Popolo*, and, were further rewarded for their treason to their class by the gift of no fewer than six castles, and were provided with a guard of 200 soldiers at the public expense.

In October, Charles IV, passing through Siena on the way to Rome, gave the sanction of his presence to the new government. "And he dismounted in Casa Salimbeni; and he had with him 1100 horsemen, among whom were 500 men-at-arms; and they were all lodged and quartered in the houses of the nobles who had fled; and all their pleasant chambers were used as stables".

The Emperor only remained in Siena two days, from Thursday, Oct. 12th, to Saturday, Oct. 14th; and hardly had he left the City, than the *Dodici*, ill content to share with others an authority which they had enjoyed alone for thirteen years, began to conspire against the *Noveschi*, whose three representatives they hoped to exclude from the Signoria. In this, however, they found that they had reckoned without their host. They could stir up tumults and revolts, but they could not direct them. By this time the proletariat had realized its strength; and on the 11th day of December, *insurgente ad rumorem in civitate Senarum popolo minuto* (so writes the Notary Simone di Conte), *et facto tumultu et clamore maximo apud palatium in quo erant dd. Duodecim,*

et demum apposito igne ad unum ex hostiis exterioribus dicti palatii, patuit ingressus in palatium populo supradicto, qui cum furore maximo deposuit officium dictorum dd. Duodecim, et expulit extra palatium septem ex dictis Dominis, videlicet tres de numero seu gente Novem et quatuor de dicta gente Duodecim, remanentibus in dicto palatio quinque ex dictis dd. Duodecim de gente populi minuti.

Thus the government remained in the hands of the lowest class, who, with the approval of Malatesta (who was still in Siena), constituted a Council of 150 *Riformatori*, all of the *Popolo minuto*, and a Signoria of fifteen, also of the *Popolo minuto*, to serve up to the 1st January. Among the fifteen were included the five already in office. The new magistracy, which was called the *Domini Defensores Populi et Comunis Senarum*, did not, however, complete even the short term assigned to it; for, on the 16th December, the *Riformatori*, fearing the result of the representations which the *Dodici* were making to the Emperor at Rome, summoned to the Palace the three *Noveschi* and the four *Dodicini* who had been expelled, and readmitted them to the Signoria, retaining therein eight of the *Popolo minuto*, and providing that from these eight should be selected the Captain of the People; while, as a further precaution, it was ordered that the *Gonfalonieri Maestri*, or standard bearers of the three

Terzi, should also be members of the *Popolo minuto*.

And now, let us pause for a moment to take breath, and to make sure that we have not lost our way in this labyrinth of numbers and of names, this dizzying mutation of governments and of factions.

To recapitulate. In the last four months of 1368 the government of Siena was changed four times. The exclusive rule of the *Dodici* having come to an end with the revolution of 2nd September, the following magistracies came into being and disappeared in rapid succession: first, on the 6th September, a magistracy of THIRTEEN CONSULS, consisting of 10 *Gentiluomini* and 3 *Noveschi*; second, on the 24th September, a magistracy of TWELVE, consisting of 4 *Dodicini*, 3 *Noveschi* and 5 *Popolani minuti*; third, on the 11th December, a magistracy of FIFTEEN, composed exclusively of members of the *Popolo minuto*; and fourth, on the 16th December, another magistracy of FIFTEEN, consisting of 8 *Popolani minuti*, 4 *Dodicini* and 3 *Noveschi*.

Thus a fourth *Monte*, that of the *Riformatori*, came into existence, its name being taken from the *Consiglio dei Riformatori* which had instituted the new order of things. This Council, which was subsequently enlarged more than once, elected the most able of its members to the *Signoria*, and remained at the head of the State as a permanent assembly, superior to the magistracy

of the *Quindici* and the other ordinary councils. Moreover, that magistracy itself (in spite of the participation therein which was granted to the 4 *Dodicini* and 3 *Noveschi*) was known as the magistracy of the *Riformatori* from the preponderant portion of its members.

There can be but little doubt that the *Riformatori* sincerely and earnestly desired to be *Reformers* in the best sense of the word; and their first efforts were devoted to the healing of old discords.

The *gentiluomini*, they felt, must still be excluded from office. That was the general sentiment of the age in all the Italian communes; and indeed, as Gregorovius remarks, “the struggle of the People against the nobles was merely a continuation of the struggle against feudalism”. Nor had the conduct of the *Casate*, during the brief period of their renewed authority, been such as to inspire the confidence of the lower classes; for, says Neri di Donato, “in the said time, to wit in the twenty-two days that they ruled, the *Gentiluomini* cruelly killed many citizens, causing them to be beheaded and slain; and great was the number of them”; while, after their government had been overthrown and they themselves expelled from the City, they had never ceased to burn and pillage the countryside up to

the very gates of Siena, “on such wise that the City was besieged”.

With regard to the *Nove* and the *Dodici* (although neither the narrow and intolerant oligarchal rule of the one, nor the pusillanimity and self-seeking of the other was forgotten) the *Riformatori* proved themselves generous. As we have seen, they admitted members of each of those *Monti* to the supreme magistracy, only retaining for themselves a bare majority. Indeed, it was their great object to bring about a union of the whole People; and to this end they commanded that the party names of *Nove* and *Dodici* should be abolished and that, according to the number of the families of the two orders, the first should henceforth be called *Popolo del minor numero*; the second *Popolo del numero mediocre*; while they themselves assumed the title of *Popolo del maggior numero*.

Unfortunately, however, their honest efforts for a reconciliation met with no response; and, hardly had the new government been constituted, than the *Dodici* and the *Salimbeni* rose against it. Aided by Charles IV, who returned from Rome on the 22nd December, and by the men-at-arms under Malatesta, with the secret agreement that “*misser Malatesta doveva avere per questo Siena a tirannia de Lomperadore per 20 mila fiorini d’oro l’anno. E li Salimbeni e li dodici*

due di sangue, e li forestieri tre di sacco” (1), they attacked the Palazzo Pubblico (18 January, 1369) and expelled the three *Noveschi* on the pretext that that Order was plotting to recall the nobles. But the Signoria knew the character of the men with whom they had to deal, and when they saw the troops of the Emperor, to the number of 3000, defiling into the Campo, “by inspiration of God they were aware of the treason, and anon commenced the battle with them, and they fought in divers places in the Campo”. The bell of the Commune rang furiously overhead in the Mangia Tower, and from every workshop and forge and alley, artisans and mechanics hurried to the assistance of the magistrates; “and the Captain of the People who was in the Palace (his name was Matteino di Ser Ventura da Menzano) went forth against them with the standard and with a small company; and fighting with them, he drave not a few of them forth from the Campo and back to the Croce di travaglio (2); and

(1) *i. e.* “That for this, Misser Malatesta should have the lordship of Siena, paying therefor to the Emperor twenty thousand golden florins yearly; that for two days the *Dodici* and the Salimbeni should have full liberty to massacre their enemies throughout the city, and the foreign mercenaries three days in which to sack it”.

(2) The *Croce di Travaglio* is the name given to that spot in the centre of the City almost opposite the Casino de' Nobili, where the three main thoroughfares meet. The

trough every street there was a very great battle ; and there was the Imperial Standard cast to earth and the standard-bearer slain. The Emperor, beholding that, suddenly turned back. At Piazza Tolomei all dismounted and, holding the palaces round about, made a stand; and there was a great and incredible battle, and it endured more than seven hours. And there were slain and wounded many Bohemians and gentlemen of the Emperor.... And at the end the said Emperor and his folk were broken and driven and thrust back into Casa Salimbeni; and there were taken from them 1200 horses, and all their harness and weapons of war; and there were slain of them 400 men, captains of renown, and gentlemen of high estate, among whom died one nephew of the Emperor, and one was wounded; and of counts and knights and noble persons, so many were wounded that all the hospitals were full of them without number..... The Emperor abode alone, alone, in the greatest dread that ever any coward had. The People kept him guarded, and he wept, and excused himself, and embraced and

derivation of the name is, perhaps, not absolutely certain, but, according to the better opinion, the word *Travaglio* is simply a corruption of the latin *trium vallium*, it being the place of intersection of the three Valleys. Compare, however, my "*Ensamples* „ of *Fra Filippo &c*, *op. cit.* page 36, note I.

kissed every person that came unto him, and said, ‘I have been betrayed by Misser Malatesta and by Misser Joanni, and by the Salimbeni, and by the Dodici’; and he spake and told them after what manner.... ”

Thus was Charles obliged to come to terms with the magistrates, upon whom he conferred a *privilegium* with a gold seal, constituting them and their successors Imperial Vicars in Siena and in the contado, for ever. Thereafter he departed from the City, with little credit but with some thousands of gold florins which he had borrowed from Biccherna.

The three *Noveschi* who had been expelled were reinstated in the Palace with great honour.

In spite of all that had happened, the *Riformatori* were not yet willing to abandon hope of a loyal and permanent reconciliation between all the popular parties. On the 31st January, after having frankly begged the *Noveschi* and the *Dodicini* to act in concert with them, they caused a resolution to be passed in the Consiglio Generale whereby it was provided that, on such day as the Signori Difensori and the Captain of the People should ordain, there should be celebrated with the utmost solemnity “la messa della Pace”, whereto were summoned, together with the *Popolo*, all the *Nove* and the *Dodici* “e loro discendenti e pertinenti”; that, after the mass, all should

make peace with one another and swear, “ sulla pietra sagrata ”, to be true and leal to the existing government. At the same time it was forbidden to “ zanzalare ”, or to calumniate any citizen, while the shouting, “ al tempo d’alcuno rumore, che Dio cessi, *Muoia el Popolo ! Muoia e’ Nove ! Muoia e’ Dodici !* ” was, like the breaking of the peace or attempting to subvert the government “ al presente riformato ”, rendered highly penal. Moreover, the *Riformatori* were resolved, if possible, that even the nobles should not be excluded from the general amnesty. Mediators from Florence were called in and before the end of June, the exiles returned to the City ; “ and they made great festival in Siena with trumpets, and bonfires, and merrymaking, and professions of good will (*belle diciarie*). The *Gentiluomini* were even admitted to the minor offices of the Commune, although the supreme magistracy, of course, remained closed to them.

Nevertheless, peace did not come. The dissensions between the *Nove* and the *Dodici* continued, mainly by the fault of the latter. Through the contemporary chronicle runs the bitter refrain, “ *e tutto fu per operazione de’ Salimbeni e de’ Dodici* ”. The nobles too, were not satisfied with the concessions they had obtained, and conducted themselves with violence and lawlessness alike in the City and in the contado, until it became necessary to promulgate the severest enactments

against them.

Later on, the *popolo minuto* itself, which had given birth to the government of the *Riformatori*, became discontented. From the nature of things but few of its many members could have a seat in the Signoria, and, of course, every man deemed himself as fit to rule as his neighbour. The appetite for personal power had been created, and those who could not share the offices and emoluments of the State felt angry and sore at being passed over. The ill humour of the proletariat was increased by the high price of grain, and by the disputes which arose between the wool-carders and the *Maestri* of the *Arte della Lana*. In 1370, these wool-carders, men of the lowest class, dwelling in the precipitous lanes about the Porta Ovale, formed an association which they called the *Compagnia del Bruco*. There were about 300 of them, captained by a *ligrittieri* (or retail vendor of woollen stuffs); and hunger and wretchedness made them desperate. In July, 1371, they resolved to suffer no longer, and marched tumultuously through the city, demanding grain at the houses of the wealthy and menacing those who refused them. The Senator, a criminal magistrate, thereupon arrested three of them, and, having extorted confession from them by torture, condemned them to death. The *Compagnia del Bruco* immediately took up arms, and, after compelling the Senator to liberate the

prisoners, invaded the Public Palace, drove from the Signoria the four *Dodicini* and the three *Noveschi*, and replaced them by seven of their fellow tatterdemalions.

For more than two weeks the city was in perpetual tumult; and herein the *Dodici* and the Salimbeni thought that they saw an opportunity of regaining the authority which they had lost. Having suborned the Captain of the People and the *Gonfalonieri Maestri*, they laid their plans to “cut to pieces the *Compagnia del Bruco*, the Tolomei, the *Nove*, the Bishop and certain others, and then to reform the City” (1).

By a fortunate accident, the Signoria discovered the plot on the night of the 29th July, only a few hours before it should have been carried into execution, and were able to take steps for their own safety. They could not, however, stop the rising; and, before day broke, the Salimbeni and their followers had begun their bloody work. The *Compagnia del Bruco* was attacked and massacred, houses and workshops were broken into, and those wretched wool-carders were put to the sword without regard for age or sex. The old chronicler graphically describes the

(1) *Cronaca Senese, ad ann.*, in MURATORI, XV. col 226.—The Bishop was Giacomo de' Malavolti. He had been consecrated in Avignon, and had only returned to Siena on the 8th of the preceding month. He died in November of the same year—See PECCI, *Storia del Vescovado*.

horrid scene ; how “ one fled here and another there ”, how “ some sought to hide themselves and some threw themselves over the city walls ; their women dishevelled with their cradles on their heads, and their children in their arms or led by the hand, fleeing with their terrified burdens, so that never was there sight so pitiful ”.

Then the tide turned. Those who had attacked the Palace were beaten off ; the People were everywhere victorious, and avenged those misdeeds with many summary executions. Finally the Magistracy of the Quindici was reformed by the expulsion of the four *dodicini*, their seats being filled by four *popolani del maggior numero*, so that the Signoria was now composed of three of the *Nove* and twelve of the *Riformatori* ; while the faction of the *Dodici* were declared incapable of office and were deprived of their arms.

These continual commotions, this state of living, as it were, upon the brink of a precipice, exacerbated the minds of the *Riformatori*. Their nerves (if such things were known in those strenuous days) were affected, just as men’s nerves are affected by continual seismic disturbances, and their very nature seemed to change. No longer bent upon conciliation and forgiveness, they became irritable and cruel, and gave vent to their lower instincts in ferocious and unjust measures of repression. They tortured witnesses,

till, like that poor Fardello (1), men committed suicide rather than face "examination" at the hands of the magistrates; many paid the death penalty on mere suspicion; and we read of a certain Ser Agnolo d'Andrea, of the Order of the *Dodici*, who was condemned on no better grounds than that he invited to a banquet certain friends of his who were believed to be hostile to the government, without including among his guests any of the *Riformatori*. The minds of men were brutalized and that delight in witnessing suffering which lies dormant in human nature, was aroused and whetted by the constant sight of frightful barbarities. Criminals were slowly torn to pieces with red hot pincers (*attanagliati*), while bound upon a cart which was driven through the streets of the city at a walking pace, so that all the citizens might look thereon (2). Neri di Donato's chronicle becomes one long wail. He complains that "all right and all justice was dead in the City of Siena by reason of the works of the *Dodici* and of the Salimbeni"; that

(1) *Cronaca Sanese*, ad ann. 1372, in MURATORI XV. col. 234.

(2) See the *Cronica Sanese* in MURATORI, ad annum 1377.

In an Inventory of the *Camera del Comune* of 1460, we find the following entries: "Un coltellaccio da squartare huomini a la finestra di Martinella"; "Duo paia di tanaglie da tanagliare huomini alla detta finestra"; and, to complete the list, "due pezzi di catene da ardere huomini".

“ things came to such a pass that in Siena, and in the contado, they slew and robbed everyone — *si uccideva e robava ogni persona* ”. He tells us how a certain Giovanni di Meo, a hosier of the *Popolo maggiore* was arrested by the Potestà, “ the which Giovanni was the greatest and most enormous sinner that dwelt ever in Siena. He burnt and robbed in Siena many of the houses and shops of the *Nove*, and slew many women in new and unheard of ways (1); he lived with his familiars (*con commari*) and with his daughters in most dishonest lechery. This man wounded himself and declared that one of the *Dodici* had wounded him, to the end that he might calumniate the *Dodici* and have money from the Commune; and thereof he had much. He was worthy of a thousand deaths, more than any man of whom the world holds record ”. Yet, because the Potestà wished to punish him after his deserts, “ the *Popolo de’ Riformatori* were wrath with the said Potestà; and therefore he was not re-elected ”. Finally, beholding the infinite miseries of those evil days, the chronicler is driven to the conclusion that they are due to some disastrous stellar influence. “ At this time ”, he says, “ there reigned in the world a planet which had these effects..... Brethren and cousins, husbands and wives, neigh-

(1) “ *e uccise donne più per nuovi modi inistimabili* ”—Apparently a 14th century ‘ Jack the Ripper ’.

hours and friends, were at enmity with one another ; in all the world were sanguinary quarrels. I speak not more at large for very shame, albeit I could give innumerable instances. In Siena no man understood or kept faith; neither the gentlemen among themselves nor with others ; nor the *Nove* among themselves nor with others ; nor the *Dodici* among themselves nor with others ; nor the *Popolo*, to wit those that ruled, with one another nor with others, in any perfect wise ; and so the world is all one darkness ”.

In their foreign policy the *Riformatori* were no more successful than in their government of the City. They were obliged to fight the Salimbeni in the Contado, where, after they had been expelled from the town for their crimes, they became a standing menace to the Commune. Grave injuries too were inflicted by the mercenary bands, especially the Bretons and Gascons. The rival claims of Charles of Durazzo and Louis of Anjou to the Neapolitan kingdom caused fresh disturbances in Tuscany ; and the *Riformatori* entertained hopes of gaining possession of Arezzo, which was first occupied by Durazzo's men, and then by Enguerrand de Coucy for Louis of Anjou. But, while Siena was nourishing dreams of conquest, the French sold the coveted city to the Florentines, whose negotiations had been conducted with marvellous ability and despatch (1384). This cruel disappointment brought the gathering

exasperation of the Sienese against their rulers to a climax; and, at last in March, 1385, the *popolo* rose in insurrection, instigated and led by the *Gentiluomini*, the *Nove* and the *Dodici*. By a cruel irony, the government of the *Riformatori*, which had sought so loyally and laboured so earnestly after peace, was overthrown to the cry of *Viva la pace!* And they were “broken and cast forth and evil entreated and banished and slain”. More than four thousand “good artisans” were exiled from the city to the great injury of Sienese industries, and the Signoria was once more reconstructed; this time with 4 *Noveschi*, 4 *Dodicini* and 2 of the *Popolo*. Those, however, of the last named order were excluded who had, at any time, been members of the Supreme magistracy or sat in the Council of the *Riformatori*. Thus a new popular order came into being, which assumed the name of the *Monte del Popolo*, and which was destined to complete the tale of Sienese *Monti*.

The bourgeois element, once more victorious, sought, by the admission of two of the lower classes to the magistracy of the *Dieci Signori Priori Governatori del Comune*, to create a dualism in the *Popolo del maggior numero*, and, by splitting it into two Orders (the *Monte dei Riformatori* and *Monte del Popolo*), to secure their own preponderance. True it is that, in the course of time, the *Ordine del popolo* obtained

great power and influence, but its first appearance on the stage of Sienese politics marked the victory of the factions hostile to the rule of the working classes, created a new division among the citizens, and interposed a new obstacle to that equality and civil concord in which consists the essence of an ideal democracy—an ideal the realization of which will probably prove for all time as illusory as the old search for the terrestrial paradise, and which the lapse of five centuries does not seem to have brought appreciably nearer.

In 1383 the *Quindici Riformatori* had revived the old half-forgotten register of the *memorialis offensarum* in a book called “*il Balzano*” (1). Therein we find recorded the ravages of predatory bands in the contado, and how, about Torrita in the Val di Chiana, “they took passing great booty of prisoners, and left neither flocks nor herds, whether work-oxen, cows, sheep, swine or horses, to the value of very many thousand florins, so that in Torrita there remained scarce three yoke of oxen”. A month later another entry recalls another raid, the slaying of certain shepherds and the driving off of five thousand sheep, followed by the capture of the Sienese

(1) The “*Libro detto il Balzano, contenente le offese fatte al Comune di Siena dal 1383 al 1388*”, is published by L. BANCHI as an appendix to the “*Memoriale delle offese*”. See page 29 *supra*, note I.

captains who “*volendo vendicare la detta offesa e ricoverare l'onore del Comune di Siena*”, rode after the marauders, but fell into an ambush and were held to ransom.

These things were bad enough; but the *Dieci* soon had more grievous matter to chronicle. In 1388, there is an entry which sets forth the fact that “Misser Giovanni of Montepulciano took Montepulciano from our Commune and gave it to the Commune of Florence”; and then, in another hand: “The Florentines took Cortona from us while we were in alliance with them. In the Instrument of the said League they covenanted to defend for us Cortona and Montepulciano, and they have taken from us both the one and the other. In a thousand ways they mocked us and deceived us under pretext of desiring to return them to us, with such and so great lies and falsities that it would be over long to recount them, and all to the shame and infamy of our Commune”.

In fact, Florence, ever greedy of dominion, and never bound by any pact which it was to her interest to break, had not been long in realizing how terribly Siena had been crippled by the banishment of so many of her citizens. In 1387 she cast longing eyes upon Montepulciano—the old apple of discord between the Communes—and having fomented a rebellion in the subject town, then shamelessly offered her

services as arbitrator. For the moment she delayed reaping the fruit of her treachery, and on the 29th October gave judgment in favour of Siena. This decision, however, had but little effect, for Montepulciano again revolted and offered itself to Florence, which now no longer hesitated to accept its submission. War followed, and Siena, unable to resist the aggressions of her stronger neighbour, appealed to Gian Galeazzo of Milan for assistance, only to find that, ere many years were over, her new ally had made himself her master. It is true that the ducal suzerainty only lasted till 1403 ; but the submission of the Commune to the dreaded one-man-rule (*il governo d' un solo*), for however short a period, is sadly significant of the weakened moral fibre of the Sienese.

Thus ingloriously ended the 14th century which had begun so brightly; and that same Siena which had defied three Emperors; which had not feared to close her gates in the face of the terrible Barbarossa; which had hardly felt uneasiness at the approach of the seventh Henry; and had seen the fourth Charles humbled and weeping, and at her mercy, was now the prey of a petty Italian despot.

It was a century of great crimes, steeped in cruelty, red with slaughter, and stained with ever increasing licentiousness. Naturally, therefore,

we should expect it also to be a century of great saints, for extremes meet, and, even as corruption and every kind of wickedness form the inevitable reaction from excessive devotional tendencies, so do asceticism, morbid introspection and mystic yearnings follow close upon the heels of corruption. Nor are our expectations doomed to disappointment. The Blessed Bernardo Tolomei, who founded the Order of the Monks of Oliveto; the Blessed Giovanni Colombini, who founded that of the Poveri Gesuati; St Catherine, the worthiest of all women to be canonised; San Bernardino, the mighty preacher; were all Sienese. Verily, Mr. Symonds is right when he asserts that few cities have given four such saints to Modern Christendom.

Of these, the most celebrated and, perhaps, also the noblest and the best, was Caterina Benincasa. Of the details of her life it is not necessary to speak. Countless books have been written about her, and her greatness has made her the possession of all ages and of all peoples. Indeed, it would hardly be too much to say that, for many persons, Siena is simply the town of St. Catherine; and it is unquestionable that the ancient city has reaped more glory from the holy life of that simple maiden, than from all its wars and victories, all its poets and all its painters. "Taken as a whole, her life is perhaps unique in history. Women have risen up and

prophesied since the days when Deborah was judge in Israel; they have rebuked evil in high places; even in Catherine's day other voices beside hers were raised in protest. Women have been patriots and soldiers like Joan, the maid of Orleans. But few women have combined so many offices, and fulfilled all alike so faithfully" (1). Nor is this the less true if we admit with Mr. Trollope that her mystic trances were cataleptic fits (2), or hold her, with Dean Milman, "the hysterical dupe of artful confessors" (3). We may even acknowledge that, at least in the sense in which Mr. Ruskin uses the word (4), she was "insane"; but none of these things can change the grandeur of her self-sacrifice, the breadth and depth of her sympathy with all humanity, or the great work which she accomplished in an evil age. Possibly, to achieve all that she did achieve, she was almost justified in torturing that poor lovely body of hers; although, in this saner twentieth century, it is hard to think it. Nevertheless, when all is said and done, it is incontestable that hers was "one of the best and bravest and meekest woman's lives ever lived". "Make

(1) FLORENCE WITTS, *The Story of Catherine of Siena*.

(2) THOS, ADOLPHUS TROLLOPE, Article: *St Catherine*, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

(3) *Latin Cristianity* (4th edition), Book XII, chap. XIII, pages 26-30 and notes.

(4) *Mornings in Florence* (New York, John W. Lovell Co. 1889) page 36.

the attempt", says Mrs. Butler, in her *Catherine of Siena*, "make the attempt to live a life of prayer such as she lived, and then, and not till then, will you be in a position which will give you any shadow of a right or any power to gauge this soul's dealings with God". Catherine finished her life as she had begun it; carelass of self and full of care for others to the very last; and so, on the 29th April, 1380,

.. mixed herself with heaven, and died;
And now on the sheer city-side
Smiles like a bride.

Catherine was canonised by the great Sienese Pope, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Pius II. The Bull which raised her to the Altars of the Church was published in June, 1461, and Pius gratified his love for his native city by drawing up her Office with his own hand (1).

(1) Pius gave his approbation to a service in which the celebrated miracle of the *Stigmata* was prominently asserted, while in some latin verses which he wrote *ad laudem Seraphicæ Sponsæ D. Nostri Jesu Christi, Beatæ Catharinæ de Senis*, it is declared that

Stigmata passa fuit, dictu mirabile, Cristi.

This, of course, greatly annoyed the Franciscans who, on behalf of their founder, claimed a monopoly in that peculiar brand of miracle; and when Sixtus IV, himself a Franciscan, ascended the papal throne, he hastened to vindicate the rights of St. Francis and issued a decree by which it was forbidden to represent St. Catherine as receiving the *stigmata* under pain of ecclesiastical censures. "Whether Sixtus intended by this decree to assert that no

On the 8th September of the year in which St. Catherine died, was born in Massa Marittima the great Saint and preacher Bernardino Albizzeschi. After an exceptionally pure and noble boyhood we find him, at the age of twenty, labouring with a little band of friends, in the Spedale della Scala, during the pestilence of 1400. Two years later he joined the Franciscan Order.

To his initiative we owe the erection of the Convent of the Osservanza which stands upon the hill of Capriola, about a mile from Siena. The modern building is, however, of later date. Here he studied and here he preached for several years; and it was not until 1417 that he began his apostolate in Milan. Ere long his

such miracle was performed on Catherine, or that it ought not to have been performed in justice to St. Francis, or that having been unfortunately performed, nothing ought to be said about it, is left (says Mr. Trollope) to the very unsatisfactory conjectures of indiscreet inquirers ”.

It was now the turn of the Dominicans to be indignant; and so the troublesome controversy dragged on for about a century and a half, until Urban VIII, adroitly reconciled, (as far as possible); the equally authoritative, but quite contradictory, rulings of Pius II and Sixtus IV, by declaring that the *stigmata* of St. Catherine were “ not bloody, but luminous ”. It would be curious to learn which sort of *stigmata* the pundits of the Church consider superior.

For the student of Sienese art this otherwise futile and childish controversy acquires a certain interest on account of the picture of the *Tavoletta di Gabella* of 1499, representing *St. Catherine receiving the Stigmata*. To the right is Pius II, holding in his hand a scroll with the legend *STIMATA PASSA FVIT*, a patriotic protest on the part of the artist against the decree of Francesco da Savona.

eloquence made him famous throughout Italy, and, wherever he appeared, crowds thronged to hear him. Between this year and his death in 1444, he preached in more than eighty different towns and cities. With especial enthusiasm did he inculcate the adoration of the Holy Name of Jesus, and wherever he went he sought to persuade his hearers to paint or carve the sacred letters I. H. S., surrounded by a halo of golden rays, on their churches, houses and palaces—*tum sanctorum templis, tum privatis domibus*. This device is to be seen above the Camollia Gate, in the Sala del Mappamondo, and in countless other places in Siena.

Some idea of Fra Bernardino's influence with his fellow citizens may be obtained from the fact that, in deference to his exhortations, the Consiglio della Campana actually amended the laws and enacted what were known as the *Riformazioni di frate Bernardino*.

He preached in Siena many times; first in 1405, in the Oratorio of Sant Onofrio; a second time in the Cathedral in 1410; in May, 1425, in the Piazza del Campo, in the presence of the Signoria and of a crowd which, according to the chroniclers, numbered, on more than one occasion, 40,000 persons; while on the 15th August, 1427, he commenced those forty-five sermons which were published, a few years ago, by Luciano Banchi, under the title of *Le prediche volgari*

di San Bernardino da Siena dette nella Piazza del Campo l'anno MCCCCXXVII. They consist of three volumes, of about 400 pages each, every word of which is well worth reading.

During the sojourn of the Emperor Sigismund in Siena (1432-3), he contracted a strong affection and regard for Fra Bernardino. "The days passed without seeing him", he used to say, "are days without light".

The Sienese were most anxious that their great fellow citizen should become their Bishop, but, although the Pope nominated him to the see, he firmly refused the proffered honour.

In the spring of 1444 he saw Siena for the last time; and the last time that his fellow citizens listened to his beloved voice he spoke with great earnestness of justice and of the good government of the Republic. He preached in the Piazza del Duomo. A few weeks later (20th May) he died at Aquila, at the hour of vespers, while the friars were singing the words: *Pater, manifestavi nomen tuum hominibus.*

He was canonised six years later by the command of Nicolas V (1).

(1) It only remains to remind the reader that the best books on St. Catherine and St. Bernardino, are English books: E. G. GARDNER, *Saint Catherine of Siena* (Dent, 1907) and A. G. FERRERS HOWELL, *S. Bernardino of Siena* (Methuen, 1913).

Giovanni Tolomei (for the name Bernardo was only assumed when he entered the religious life) was born in 1272. At the age of sixteen he became doctor both of philosophy and of civil and canon law, was subsequently knighted, and, according to the legend of his life, “ ruled the State ” —an obvious exaggeration, since the Tolomei appear among the *casate* excluded from the government by the law 1277 (1). When he was forty years of age he was stricken with sudden blindness, and, having received his sight again in answer to a prayer to the Virgin, renounced the world. With two companions, he betook himself to the wild hills of Accóna. The three anchorites were soon joined by recruits of a like temper. Six years later, Giovanni visited Pope John XXII at Avignon ; and, at that pontiff’s bidding, the Bishop of Arezzo prescribed the rule of St. Benedict for the new brotherhood, which took the name of the Congregation of St. Mary of Mount Olivet. Its founder died about the year 1348, and was beatified by the Church for his great virtues.

It only remains to add that one of Mr. J. A. Symonds’ *New Italian Sketches* deals with Monte Oliveto and the Blessed Bernardo Tolomei.

Giovanni Colombini was born early in the

(1) See page 46, *supra*, note (1).

14th century, probably between 1300 and 1304. He married in 1342. He seems to have belonged to the *Monte de' Nove*, and is said to have been one of the Supreme Magistracy. He was converted about 1355, and, having bestowed all his worldly goods on the Convent of Santa Bonda (where he had placed his thirteen-year-old daughter) and on the hospital of S. Maria della Scala, with the proviso that the income arising from the property thus conveyed should be payed to his wife during her lifetime, he “ espoused Most High Poverty — *altissima povertà* ”, and wandered through the city and country, preaching a gospel of love and reconciliation. So great was his success, and so vast the number of the disciples who abandoned the world at his bidding, that his biographer declares that, for this cause, he was banished by the *Dodici*, lest the city should be depopulated by his doctrines (1357).

Ten years later the Order of the Poveri Gesuati, which he had founded, was approved by Urban V; and, a few weeks or days afterwards, Colombini died at the Monastery of San Salvatore on Monte Amiata.

His letters are among the most remarkable in the category of ascetic works of the 14th century; while, besides his prose writings, he composed *rime spirituali* or lauds. It seems that the Gesuati were accustomed to sing continually

as they wandered about the country, and indeed, at almost all other times. Naturally enough, those of them who had the knack of versifying sang their own words. Of the lauds of Colombini himself only one authentic example has come down to us; but we possess quite a large number by a follower of his, Bianco da Siena. These are written “in the golden tongue of the 14th century—*nella lingua dell’ aurea trecento*”. They form no contemptible contribution to Italian religious literature (1).

It would, of course, be easy to mention many other Sienese Saints who lived during the period under consideration, but the four of whom I have spoken are the most important, and the space at my disposal is sadly limited.

Over the events of the greater part of the 15th century we may pass very lightly. Important for the story of literature and of art, in its political aspect it is certainly the least interesting period of Sienese history, and is, perhaps, chiefly remarkable in connection with the names of three great men whose joint lives span its entire length: — San Bernardino (1380-

(1) The reader who is curious about the matter will find more than one of these *rime spirituali* in *The “ Ensamples ” of Fra Filippo*, &c. *op. cit.* See the Index to that work s. v. *Laudi spirituali*.

1444); Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1405-1464); and Pandolfo Petrucci (1451-1512).

Of the first of these I have already spoken; the second belongs rather to the story of Italy and of the Papacy than to that of Siena (1); so that we need, in fact, only concern ourselves, in this place, with the last of the three, Pandolfo "the Magnificent".

During the earlier years of the century, we hear less than heretofore of the discord between the various *monti*; and it seems not improbable that, for a time, the intensity of their antagonism was, in fact, diminished by the pressure of external circumstances. From 1409, when, in consequence of the decisions of the Council of Pisa, Florence and Siena had declared against Gregory XII, until the death of Ladislas of Naples, the Sienese had enough to do to defend themselves against the incursions of that monarch; while, in 1431, they were involved in a fresh war with Florence. Indeed it was not till after the Peace of Ferrara, that the internal dissensions again acquired something of their old virulence; and doubtless, as long as he lived,

(1) How important a part Pius II played upon the stage of Italy and of Europe may be judged from the fact that the whole of the third volume of the late Bishop Creighton's monumental work might be entitled, with perfect propriety, "*The Life and Times of Pius II*" to see also *Pius II, the Humanist Pope*, by C. M. ADY (Methuen, 1913).

the influence of Fra Bernardino was potent in maintaining civic concord. In 1433 many of the *Dodici* were exiled; and, in 1451, a large number of the *Gentiluomini*, together with more of the *Dodici*, shared the same fate. In 1459, at the request of Pius II, the nobles were readmitted to a share in the government; but this concession, grudgingly made, only remained in force for a few years, and, on the death of the Pope (1464), was revoked altogether, save in the case of members of the Piccolomini house, who were decreed to be *popolani* and were allowed to retain all their privileges.

The failure of the Pazzi conspiracy in 1478 led to a war in which Florence and Milan were opposed to the Pope and the King of Naples. Siena sided with the latter and shared in the victory of Poggio Imperiale and in the taking of Colle di Val d'Elsa. In 1480, after peace had been declared, Alfonso of Calabria, who had captained the allied forces, attempted to impose his suzerainty upon the Commune, and had actually succeeded in reorganizing the government to his own advantage and to that of his supporters among the citizens, when he was recalled to the south by the news that Otranto had been stormed by the Turks. In 1483 the *Noveschi*, who had favoured his designs, were condemned to perpetual banishment from the government and from the city, while the *Monte*

del Popolo possessed themselves of the lion's share of the offices and emoluments of the state. But *in perpetuo* was an empty form of words in those turbulent Italian Republics. The *Noveschi*, being "fat burghers", with powerful connections, abilities and traditions, only gained increased strength and influence in exile; and five years later, on the 22nd July, 1487, they returned triumphantly to Siena, dispersed the few adherents of the *popolo* who offered resistance, murdered the Captain of the People, reorganized the State, and then, their own preponderance being assured by their numerical strength and influence, they accorded equal shares of power to the other *Monti*.

Among the returned exiles was Pandolfo Petrucci, a man of little learning but of great natural abilities, subtle and prudent, gifted with a profound knowledge of the baser side of human nature, and entirely free from conscientious scruples. The portrait which Baldassare Peruzzi has left of him, and which adorns the first volume of Pecci's *Memorie*, seems that of a typical Renaissance despot; a broad and somewhat high forehead; clearly marked, but not too heavy eye-brows; well formed nose; calm vigilant eyes, reading all, revealing nothing; a square chin and large voluptuous mouth with firmly compressed lips—the presentment, in fact, of a strong, determined personality, dangerous to thwart, without

fear and without remorse.

In a city as corrupt and discordant as was Siena, it was no very difficult matter for such a man to make himself master of the State; and that power which he had gained by diplomacy and finesse, Pandolfo succeeded in preserving with a strong hand. Secure in the support of the French king, who had stood his friend when the Borgia sought his ruin, he fortified his position by alliance with Florence—the old policy of the *Noveschi* which had made Siena so prosperous during the first half of the fourteenth century—and directed the internal affairs of the State by means of the *Collegio della Balìa* (a sort of permanent committee, first introduced in 1455) which, although occasionally reorganized for the purpose of conciliating rival factions, remained always subject to his will. Nevertheless, as Professor Paoli points out, his rule was, strictly speaking, rather a “domination” than a “signory”, inasmuch as he left the established form of government intact, and exercised despotic authority only in virtue of his strength of character and the continued increase of his personal power. He found an able servant and coadjutor in his secretary, Antonio da Vena-fro, whom Macchiavelli calls “*il cuore suo ed il caffo degli altri uomini*”, and whose selection by Pandolfo was alone sufficient, in the judgment of the Florentine, to prove the latter *valentissimo uomo*.

Pandolfo was not naturally cruel, but he seems to have been perfectly callous ; and, to say nothing of the removal of Nicolò Borghesi, his father-in-law, there are ugly stories of men precipitated down prison-drops and buried alive in *razzaie* or charnel-houses. Of one of these poor wretches it is related that he was thrust by treachery into the ossuary of the hospital, where for days his cries were heard growing fainter and fainter, until, at last, death came to his release. However, such and worse methods of execution were common enough in those times.

That Pandolfo was avaricious and lent at usury to the Commune cannot be denied, but that was a time-honoured method of acquiring and maintaining influence in the conduct of public affairs, as we have seen in the case of the *Arti* as early as the 13th century (1). What may be expected to weigh more heavily against him, in a woman-ridden age like ours, when private morality is too often made the touchstone of public virtue, is his intrigue with the fair Caterina of Salicotto, the daughter of a blacksmith and wife of a pack-saddle maker, whom, on account of her buxom charms, the people called *Spada a due mani*. Certainly the most confirmed optimist can find nothing idyllic in the squalid amours of a man of nearly sixty with a vulgar and mercenary

(1) See page 29 *supra*.

plebeian.

Still, when all is said and done, Pandolfo did good work in his day and generation. As long as he lived he succeeded in repressing the anarchy and turbulence which was hurrying Siena to her doom. Under his rule she enjoyed peace abroad, and settled government, equal laws and ever-increasing prosperity at home. That the methods he employed were often blameworthy, if judged by the criterions of the twentieth century, is indisputable; but, if ever the end can justify the means, this was assuredly such an end. “ Pandolfo the Good ”, even perhaps “ Pandolfo the Great ”, would sound strangely; but “ Pandolfo the Magnificent ” appears to the dispassionate historian a fitting tribute to the man’s true worth (1).

At the same time, in arriving at such a con-

(1) The following is the judgment of a contemporary chronicler, who, although intensely hostile to Pandolfo, admits his ability: *Tamen fuit sapientissimus omnium, ut connumeraretur cum Joanne Bentivolo, et Laurentio Medice.*

Of modern writers C. FALLETTI-FOSSATI, in his work on the *Principali cause della Caduta della Rep. Senese* (page 92), fully recognizes the *grande abilità politica* of Pandolfo, and points out how extremely superficial is the view of his character taken by Burckhardt; while no less an authority than Professor ZDEKAUER speaks of him as *un uomo non comune*, and argues that the diametrically opposite opinions formed about him by different historians are alone sufficient to prove that he was a remarkable man—See *Lo Studio di Siena nel Rinascimento*, page 124.

The arguments on either side of the question are impartially, if succinctly, stated in U. G. MONDOLFO’s *Pandolfo Petrucci*, pages 156-162.

clusion, it is necessary to keep perpetually in mind the great work which he accomplished and the enormous difficulties which he overcame. Apart from that, he might almost seem, as Burckhardt calls him, “ insignificant and malicious ”.

If he sinned, his end was sad enough to evoke the pity of the sourest moralist. Hated and feared by the vast majority of the citizens, estranged from him wife, disappointed in his children and old before his time, he longed to retire into private life, but dared not trust the helm to untried hands. Wracked and wasted with asthma, he sought relief at the Bagni di S. Filippo, near Radicofani, but found no benefit from the waters, and resolved to return to Siena. On the 21 May, 1512, he reached San Quirico and withdrew to his chamber to rest. Two hours later his servants found him dead.

— “ The fire is out, and spent the dregs thereof
(This is the end of every song man sings.)
The golden wine is drunk; the dregs remain
Bitter as wormwood, and as salt as pain;
And health and hope have gone the way of love
Into the drear oblivion of lost things ”.

He was buried in the convent of the Osservanza where his grave may still be seen. Upon it was inscribed this legend : —

*Ut sua Posteritas secum requiesceret, Urnam
Hanc sibi Pandulphus jussit & esse suam.*

Pandolfo was not successful in founding a dynasty; for his sons and kinsmen, while possessed of most of his worst qualities, displayed none of his political ability and strength of purpose. They succeeded to his authority, but could not maintain it, and in a few short years destroyed themselves and one another.

The eldest brother, Borghese, an incapable, haughty and dissolute youth, was expelled by his cousin Raffaello in 1515. The new despot proved himself a bitter enemy to Pandolfo's children. He caused Borghese and the younger Fabio to be proclaimed as rebels; while the Cardinal Alfonso was strangled in Castel Sant' Angelo by a Moor, at the command of Leo X. Raffaello died in 1522, during so terrible a tempest that "it seemed as though the mouth of hell were opened". When his body was borne to S. Domenico for burial, the mob assailed it with execrations and showers of stones, even attempting to carry it to the *Vetrice* where the carcasses of dead horses were thrown; "and all the friars fled, leaving the bier alone in the midst of the officers (*birri*) who were scarcely able to carry it into the church. And (says the old chronicler) no man had seen him die; and he received not the sacraments; his death was according to his life, even as saith the proverb, *chi mal vive, mal muore*". In the following year, Clement VII insisted on the recall of Fabio Petrucci; but while

that careless youth dreamed sweet dreams of love, inspired by the blond beauty of the gracious Onorata Massaini, a conspiracy was formed to overthrow him in which her brother joined, and, in 1524, a fresh popular outbreak drove him from Siena for ever.

Thus ended the domination of the Petrucci, but the *Noveschi* survived the shipwreck of that house, and succeeded in placing one of their number, Alessandro Bichi, at the head of the State. Their triumph was, however, short lived. Less than three months later the new despot was murdered ; many of the *Nove* fled the city ; and Siena, rejoicing to be rid of her tyrants, put herself under the protection of the Emperor Charles V., and once more gave herself over to that anarchy and tumult which she loved so well, and which her citizens dignified by the name of Liberty.

In vain Charles tried to save her from herself ; he sent his ministers to pacify her discords and to reform her government ; he despatched letters of earnest counsel and entreaty, beseeching her to recall her exiles and to live at unity. " This (he writes in 1530) your conscience bids you do ; this equity and justice ; this your Republic torn by your private hates ; this Italy, tranquillized in every part, you alone excepted ; this your Cæsar, anxious for your well-being ;

this Christ, the best, the greatest, who not only taught, but, by His most potent example, invited all men to pardon their enemies. Most earnestly do we beseech you to hearken. With you it lies to give heed to so many and such reasonable prayers, which, if they move you, shall turn not to your injury, but to your abiding gain ”.

To all representations, entreaties, counsels, Siena turned a deaf ear, until, at last, the Emperor was compelled to use force; for not only was she a peril to herself but a dangerous nuisance to all her neighbours.

The inefficiency of the government rendered the contado the rendezvous and refuge of all the criminals of Tuscany; the merchandise which passed through the dominion was carried off, farms were invaded, crops cut down, houses burnt; while, in addition to all this, private wars and family blood feuds lacerated almost all the subject towns. In Orbetello, for example, in 1528, not a night passed without the breaking open and sacking of granaries, magazines, houses and shops. In Manciano no day went by but some one appeared before the officials of the Commune to complain that he had been robbed upon the public highway; and, in these ill enterprises, a certain Scipione Bidelli acquired a sinister notoriety. He was an Archpriest of Chiusi, who, for some years, infested the dominion with a company of bandits, doing much the same in

the Senese as Niccolò de' Pelagatti did in the territories of Ferrara.

The political and economic conditions of the various Communes, the exiles, the outlaws, and the discharged soldiers, created brigandage and fostered it; and for these lawless bands the territory of Siena was, as I have said, the chosen asylum and meeting place. Neither goods nor persons were efficiently protected from their depredations, and they grew so bold and numerous that, on more than one occasion, they ventured to resist the levies sent against them by the Republic, and succeeded in putting them to flight. In such of the country villages as were not abandoned, the peasants, for their own safety's sake, were secretly leagued with the outlaws, kept them informed of the movements of the authorities, and, as far as possible, avoided taking up arms against them when summoned to join the *posse comitatus*.

As if the banditti did not suffice to render country life uncertain and dangerous, the contadini themselves not unfrequently associated together for lawless enterprises, and, either with the view of carrying out some local vendetta or, more often, made reckless by misery and famine, invaded a neighbouring village or passed the confines of the State and drove off the flocks and herds of the Florentines, of the Baglioni, of the Seigniors of Piombino and of Santa Fiora. Such incursions gave

rise to infinite law-suits and to very lengthy diplomatic negotiations. Indeed, Professor Falletti-Fossati distinctly states that the principal care of Sienese diplomacy, from the second half of the 15th century almost up to the fall of the Republic, was to excuse the depredations of its subjects.

These depredations were, of course, followed by reprisals. Those whose cattle had been driven off frequently took the law into their own hands, and made counter-incursions into the Sienese dominion. Thereupon the contadini fled for refuge to the nearest town, breaking down the bridges behind them. The enemy, having done what harm they could, and gathered as much booty as possible, retired to prevent being surrounded. Then the community set about repairing the damage, but, since their neighbours were always ready to take the offensive, and since the public treasury was almost always empty, many bridges remained unrepaired and many once populous districts were wholly deserted.

The Republic acquired a very evil reputation, and was cordially hated by all its neighbours. The men of San Gimignano and of Colle, the Ricasoli, the Florentines, the Farnesi, the Baglioni and the Pope were continually protesting against the depredations and quarrelsomeness of the Sienese. In 1529, Salimbeni wrote from Rome that to the agents of Cæsar it seemed high time that the Sienese began to live at peace

with their neighbours and “ *non si procacciassero più scabbia addosso di quella che avevano* ”. Nor did the exasperation of those who suffered from their lawlessness always end in words. The Count of Anguillara waylaid three Sieneſe orators who were returning from Rome, and ſhut them up in a ſort of well, demanding a heavy ranſom.

Much the ſame thing had happened about three centuries earlier, when the Count Umberto degli Aldobrandeſchi had laid an ambuſh for the *buoni ſapienti et idonei homines* whom the Comune had ſent as ambaffadors to his couſin Ildobrandino of Santa Fiora; but, in thoſe old days, Siena was young and of high courage, and Umberto paid for his inſolence in the piazza of Campagnatico;

come i Sanesi fanno

E ſallo in campagnatico ogni fante (1).

Now, inſtead, all that the Balìa could do was to proteſt, ſcold, and threaten, and all in vain; for the Count of Anguillara reſuſed to let the orators go, declaring that, however willing he might have been to oblige the Republic, he

(1) *Purgatorio* XI, 65-66—Compare *The “Enſamples” of Fra Filippo &c, op. cit.* pages 31, 32, note. — It may be worth mentioning that, in one of the rooms in which the *Tavolette di Biccherna e di Gabella* are kept, there is to be ſeen a book-cover of the year 1429 upon which are depicted two Sieneſe ambaffadors on horſeback paſſing out of one of the city gates. They are preceded by a Rotellino di Palazzo.

could not bring himself to do so when he thought of his own servants “ *captivati, tormentati et per taglia liberati* ”.

The Counts of Pitigliano, long under the protection of Siena, were now always in arms against her, by reason of the continual inroads which were made upon their lands; and the same thing may be said of numerous other seigniors.

Commerce naturally declined, and at the same time, little by little, Siena not only lost a great part of the large revenues which she once drew from the pasture lands of the Maremma, but also saw the Roman road abandoned, a grave injury to all the towns and villages through which it passed, as well as to the trade of the City itself. The Republic was practically bankrupt; its officials unpaid; its roads unrepaired; its fortresses in ruin; its army neglected.

The poverty of the masses was appalling. Siena itself was thronged with mendicants who, deprived of food and shelter, naked and starving, lived, slept and died in the public streets. To add to the miseries of those unhappy years, there were frequent outbreaks of the pestilence which seemed to have become endemic throughout the Peninsula. In 1527, according to an old chronicle, Siena lost about 40,000 of its inhabitants from this cause, and over 100,000 in the contado. It is a tremendous cypher, and the more so that,

if it be true (as Tommasi declares) that, in 1526, a wolf entered Siena, the Senese cannot have been very thickly populated. The pestilence raged for nine months and then decreased, only to break out again with renewed violence two years later. Grosseto was reduced to so pitiful a state that men died in the streets and the corpses were left unburied; Monterotondo was almost deserted; while the panic of the people was augmented by the lack of doctors, of medicines, and of attendants for the pest-smitten. Pharmacies were rare, physicians rarer yet. Orbetello for example could not obtain a single doctor till there were sick folk in every house.

Surely Charles was not all to blame when he intervened to destroy a government which was helpless to correct such disorders, and to relieve such miseries as these. Certainly the fall of Siena evoked no sympathy from her neighbours (1).

(1) Thus, in a *Barzelletta della Città di Siena*, published in Siena in 1581, but evidently written during the last siege, we read:

Se mi volto al Pastor Santo
Non ne vorrà udir novella,
Tal che fo diretto pianto
Giorno e notte meschinella,
D'altro già non si favella
Chè di Siena in ogni luoco,

The year 1530 witnessed the death-throes of Florentine liberty, and the short-sighted Siena joyfully sent artillery to assist the Emperor in humbling her ancient rival; nor did she perceive till too late that she had thereby sealed her own fate. Yet, weakened though she was, she would not yield without a struggle, and the records of her last brave defence almost make us forget the centuries of folly which had reduced her.

The minister employed by Charles to get possession of Siena was Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who had learned the subtleties of intrigue in a Spanish convent. He was enthusiastically welcomed by the citizens, some of whom recollected him as an idle law-student at their University, where he had proved himself as dissolute and pleasure-loving as any of his companions. He was now about sixty years of age, soldier, novelist, poet and diplomatist; and no doubt the Sienese felt that the Emperor had paid

Ognun grida: sangue e fuoco
Contra me disconsolata.
Sono Siena sfortunata.

And again:

In Italia son mancati
Già per me tutti i ripari,
Tutti quanti son contrari
Di me afflitta e tribolata.
Sono Siena sfortunata.

them a very pretty compliment in sending so accomplished a man to represent him, and one who was also an old friend (1).

Don Diego worked prudently; but he could not long disguise his true intentions. He filled the city with Spanish soldiers who insulted and robbed the townsfolk, and when resistance was offered, an order was issued for a general disarmament of the people. Then, feeling strong enough to act, he began to build a fortress upon the hill of San Prospero, where now is the *Passeggio della Lizza*. To obtain materials, he destroyed the wall of the City between San Domenico and the Madonna di Fonte Giusta, as well as many of those lofty towers which formed the pride and glory of old Siena. The Sienese were slow to move, but when they saw a fort beginning to be built, which would command their town, they sent ambassadors to Charles to implore him to respect their liberties. The only answer they obtained was *Sic volo, sic iubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas*. In vain they besought the

(1) It may be of interest to note that it was during the government of Don Diego that Sir Thomas Hoby visited Siena. The Spaniard treated his guest with great courtesy; and Hoby was charmed with the city and the people whose universal hospitality seems to have made a deep impression on him. He also remarked on the learning of the Sienese women who "wrote excellently well both in prose and verse „. See. L. DOUGLAS, *Il Diario di Sir Thomas Hoby ed il suo soggiorno a Siena*, in "Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria". Vol. X (1903), pp. 273-278.

intervention of Pope Julius, whose mother was a Saracini and a Sieneſe, and who had been heard to declare that he regarded Siena as his native city; for he, either fearing to thwart Charles' plans, or realizing that Siena free was too unquiet to be a pleasant neighbour, refused to interfere, and sardonically told Don Diego that "if one castle was not enough to keep those hair-brained Sieneſe in order, his Imperial Maſteſty had better build two". Thereupon the Sieneſe citizens in Rome, headed by Æneas Piccolomini, a kinsman of the ſecond Pius, approached the agents of the French king, and with their help collected men and money for the liberation of their native town. On the 26th July, 1552, all was ready. Piccolomini, with his followers, appeared at the New Gate, now the Porta Romana, and Siena roſe as one man. After three days hard fighting, from ſtreet to ſtreet and houſe to houſe, the Spaniards were driven from the city, and Don Diego's fortress was razed to the ground.

The grateful citizens offered the ſignory of Siena to Æneas Piccolomini, but he unheſitatingly refused the proffered honour, declaring that the idea of ſeeing the free Commune ſubjected to the yoke of any individual was abhorrent to him; that what he had done he had done from no thought of private intereſt, but only for the liberation of his native city. This gallant gentleman died as he had lived, the free citizen of a

free State ; for when Siena fell, he departed with the other patriots to Montalcino and there breathed his last, before the Peace of Cateau Cambrésis extinguished for ever the fond hopes of the exiles. His monument in the Church of S. Agostino in that city records how, “ *cum parva Civium ac Militum manu, Caes. praes. Sena expulsis, Patriam servili jugo oppressam, acriter dimicando, liberavit* ”.

On the 8th August, the Collegio di Balìa, having first declared a general amnesty for all the *fuorusciti*, decreed that the Imperial arms and ensigns should be removed and erased both “ in public and in private ”, and those of France set up in their place ; a solemn embassy was sent to Paris, and, in a letter of December 23, addressed to the *Reggimento* and People of Siena, Henry assured his *chers et grans amys* of his continued protection. The city was garrisoned with French troops under the command of M. de Termes, and, secure in the royal promise, the Sienese imagined that all their troubles were over. “ They passed (says the diarist) two months right merrily without ever speaking of war, attending only to fowling, hunting and pleasure ”. Neither was their confidence so fatuous as it appears in the light of subsequent events : the war of Parma had ended disastrously for the imperialists : the failure before Metz shattered Charles’s prestige, and the French

hegemony of Italy seemed to be assured. In the winter of 1552-3 the age-long struggle between Florence and Siena appeared likely to end in the triumph of the latter; and it is by no means impossible that it might actually so have ended had not Henry II appointed Ippolito d'Este, Cardinale of Ferrara, his representative in Siena. The key-note of Ippolito's character was his incurable frivolity: he altogether failed to realise the importance of the task with which he was entrusted, and his one effort was to keep on friendly terms with Siena's deadliest enemy. Hardly had he assumed the reins of government than he declared that, " for the love which he bore the Duke of Florence, nothing should he done which might cause him injury or displeasure: he entered into negotiations for the marriage of his nephew Alfonso d'Este with Cosimo's eldest daughter, and allowed himself to be duped at every turn " (1).

Cosimo, on the other hand, cherished no illusions as to the danger which threatened him if Siena remained under the protection of France. He knew that the *gigli con gigli dover fiorire* of Savonarola was not forgotten by his subjectes, that the French Court was thronged with Florentine *fuorusciti* and that Caterina de' Medici had approved of French intervention in Siena solely

(1) See ROMIER, *Les origines politiques des guerres de religion*, Livre III.

because Florence might thus be more easily attacked (1). He would, no doubt, have preferred that the Sienese should be left free to manage their own affairs, with no restraining hand to check their immemorial discords: an easy prey when the time came. If there must be an occupation at all, he was determined that it should be a Spanish occupation, and when, in 1553, the blood-thirsty Don Garzia de Toledo was sent to punish the revolted Commune, he did not hesitate to furnish him with artillery and ammunition. In February, the Sienese territory was invaded by the way of the Chiana, but the first hostilities did little damage; the gallant defence of Monticchiello, which held out for two weeks, although the garrison "were compelled to defend themselves with stones, since powder was lacking for the arquebuses", followed by the dogged resistance of Montalcino, caused an unexpected check, and finally the sudden appearance of Turkish galleys in the southern Italian seas recalled the Spanish general to Naples. Lucignano, which had surrendered to the imperialists and been given to Cosimo, was restored to the Sienese on the 19th July.

If, on the departure of the invading army,

(1) Already on the 2nd August, 1552, Averardo Serristori had written to the Duke of Florence concerning "il mal animo della Regina di Francia et il desiderio ch' ella haveva si facessi l'impresa di Siena perchè si passassi poi a quella di Fiorenza".

the French had struck heavily and at once, they would have found Cosimo unprepared, but, in spite of all that had passed, Ippolito showed himself as ready to be duped as ever, and it was only after the loss of much precious time that Henry at last resolved upon an aggressive policy. On the 29th October, he appointed Piero Strozzi, “the chief of the *fuorusciti*”, his lieutenant general in Tuscany. Such a choice left Cosimo in no doubt as to the fate which awaited him if he allowed himself to be taken unawares. Piero was his mortal enemy: his father, the celebrated Filippo Strozzi, had died by his own hand in a Medicean prison and Piero’s whole life was dedicated to revenge. Neither was his hatred of Cosimo the less bitter because it was sharpened by remorse: he had grudged the money for his father’s ransom, and Filippo had himself declared that “Piero hath borne himself so cruelly since my capture that it may in good sooth be said that I perish through his fault”.

On the 2nd January, 1554, Piero arrived in Siena. His instructions were to “relieve the Cardinal of Ferrara as much as possible of the weight of affairs”, and it was, no doubt, assumed that Ippolito would save his dignity by leaving Siena. Unfortunately, he did nothing of the kind; he refused to relinquish any part of his authority, whether civil or military, and hampered his colleague at every turn. The quarrel became so

violent that it threatened to compromise the prestige of the French “ protection ” in the eyes of the citizens, and, on the 18th January, Strozzi left Siena under pretext of inspecting the fortresses of the *contado*.

On the night of the 26th, while he was still absent from the city, the armies of Charles and of Cosimo entered the Sienese territory, under the command of the Marquis of Marignano (1) and the forts outside the Porta Camollia were surprised. News of their approach had reached Siena early in the evening, but Ippolito hastened to assure the citizens that there was no possible occasion for alarm ; his good friend, the Duke of Florence, had given him his word not to move against Siena till February was over. Colonel Francesco Chiaramonti offered to lie in ambush for the enemy at the Palazzo de’ Diavoli, but was peremptorily ordered not to leave the city. and, when the patriot Claudio Zuccatini ventured to beseech the Cardinal to make some preparation for defence before it was too late, he was arrested and thrown into prison. In view of such imbecility as this — if, indeed, we should not rather call it treason — it is pleasant to recall the fact that when, some five months later, Ippolito, tardily obeying the summons of the King,

(1) Of this man some account will be found in “ *Como and il Medeghino* ” in J. A. SYMONDS’s *Sketches in Italy*.

left Siena, Cosimo contemptuously refused him a safe conduct through the Florentine State. The tool which had served its purpose might be safely cast away.

The siege of Siena had begun, but the end was not yet. At first, the French more than held their own : an attempt on Chiusi was successfully foiled, and Siena was full of Spanish prisoners. In July, reinforcements arrived under Blaise de Monluc, afterwards Marshal of France, and Strozzi was free to risk all upon one great throw. Eager to take summary vengeance on his enemy and to liberate Siena from a state of siege, he led his army out, intending to join hands with his brother Leone and with fresh troops which were expected to arrive by sea from Marseilles, and then, by an invasion of the Florentine dominions, to raise a rebellion against the Duke.

The plan, though daring, was not ill conceived. Unfortunatally, however, the French fleet did not reach Viareggio at the appointed time, Leone was killed at Scarlino, and Piero, after marching through the territories of Volterra, Pisa and Lucca, and after having passed and repassed the Arno, descended into the Val di Chiana and occupied Marciano and Fojano, there to await the enemy.

The two armies faced one another on the heights between which flowed the torrent of Scangallo. Both were suffering from lack of food, and especially of water. Strozzi's captains besought

him to change his position at night; but he, with that love of bravado so often seen in men of reckless character, determined to march in full daylight, with all the gallant ostentation of a tournament. At the last moment, Cornelio Benti-vogli offered to sacrifice himself to secure the retreat, only to receive the insulting answer, "Let him who fears fly. I mean to fight". "Sir, I will fly", cried that brave gentleman, and rode into the foremost ranks.

It was about an hour before noon, on the 2nd August, and the sun shone down with scorching heat. The Spanish men-at-arms advanced, and, raising their visors as they passed the infantry, smiled upon them with joyful faces, "to show their good will to give them the victory, knowing well (says the historian) that in battle cavalry only decide the day". The earth trembled beneath their tread and they seemed, as writes an eye-witness of their charge, "a mountain of iron with plumes waving to heaven, a spectacle as gallant as it was beautiful". About Strozzi were gathered his fellow-citizens, exiles of Florence, while above them floated a green banner, bearing for motto the line of Dante, *Libertà vo cercando ch'è sì cara*.

Three pieces of artillery (*sagri*) thundered from the imperial ranks; two falconets gave back their faint reply (for Strozzi's heavy guns, which had been sent forward at mid-night, were already

well on their way towards Fojano) and then the battle joined. Like two mighty waves, black below, foam-topped above, the cavalry of either host hurled together. There was a thunder of rushing hoofs, a crash of steel, and lo ! with a shriek of treason and of fear, the French standard-bearer turned and fled. In a moment the splendid squadron divided, broke, and spurred hard out of the fray, bought (it was said) with Spanish gold — “ *dodici fiaschi di stagno pieni di scudi d’oro* ” — a treachery and a flight which lives even today in the songs wherewith the *contadini* awake the echoes of that solitary countryside.

O Piero Strozzi in du’ son i tuoi soldati
Al poggio delle Donne in que’ fossati ;
Meglio de’ vili cavalli di Franza
Le nostre donne fecero provanza.

All was lost ; but the Sienese were not minded to yield. Like the west-country peasantry at Sedgemoor, after Monmouth’s flight, they battled on with stubborn courage to the bitter end. And *their* leader did not desert them. High on the Poggio delle Donne, Strozzi, clad in black armour inlaid with gold, mounted on an arab charger and with his truncheon in his hand, played the part alike of general and soldier, and played them well. He spoke words of comfort to his infantry, declaring that the flight of the French was nothing but a ruse ; he bade the drummers

and the fifers sound to battle; all the banners waved as if for victory; and the Swiss charged down the hill shouting *Francia! Francia!* while from the hostile ranks arose the answering cry of *Spagna! Imperio!* Swart Spaniards, who had kneeled to pray before they fought, French, Italians, Swiss, Germans, rushed together, slaughtering and slaughtered. The Imperialists had begun to give way, and might have been broken had not the Spanish men-at-arms returned from pursuing the French fugitives, and charged the Sienese upon the flank. It became a butchery pure and simple, and for two long miles, even to the gates of Lucignano, the ground was strewn with the banners, arms and corpses of Strozzi's ruined army; while he himself, with bullet wounds in the side and in the hand, and his head half crushed by a blow from a mace, scarcely escaped to Montalcino.

Even as Gavinana decided the fate of Florence, so the dark slopes of Scanagallo were the grave of Sienese liberty. But what a difference! A few days after Gavinana, Florence surrendered; after Scanagallo, Siena continued to resist for more than eight months. Thenceforward she was strictly invested; and the war was carried on with the greatest cruelty. Marignano spared no one. The peasants who attempted to bring supplies into the city were hanged without mercy, till the trees seemed to bear dead men rather than leaves.

Within the walls the suffering was almost greater. Hospitals and churches were full of wounded; while many lay dying in the streets and squares. Hope was almost dead, yet still the besieged held out. A glorious record of their heroism is to be found in the *Diary* of Sozzini, the Sienese historian, and in the *Commentaries* of Blaise de Monluc, who conducted the defence. In vain the City was anew dedicated to the Madonna (1); in vain the “useless mouths” — little children, the old, the sick and the weak — were thrust out of the gates, to die a lingering death, between the walls and the camp of the enemy. At last, after superhuman valour and superhuman suffering, Siena was forced to yield, and on the 21st April, 1555, the Spanish troops entered the town. Many families retired to Montalcino abandoning their native city to the stranger.

Thenceforward Siena followed the destinies of the Duchy of Tuscany, of which, in 1557, she became a part. She, however, retained a separate administration for more than two centuries, until the general reforms of the Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo, the French domination, and finally, the restoration, swept away all differences

(1) Siena was first dedicated to the Virgin in 1260 on the eve of the battle of Montaperto; and this dedication was renewed in 1483, in 1526, in 1550 and in 1555. I have treated the subject with considerable detail in my *Our Lady of August and the Palio of Siena*.

between the Sienese and Florentine systems of government.

In 1859, Siena was the first Tuscan city which declared for annexation to Piedmont and the monarchy of Victor Emanuel II — this decision (voted 26 June) being the initial step towards the unity of Italy.

Then, a new day broke from under ground, and, in the clear light of that great dawn, the old enmities were remembered no more. Genoa sent back her chains to Pisa; Assisi forgot to hate Perugia, and Siena stretched out a scarcely reluctant hand to Florence. For then, after three centuries of tyranny and superstition, the Queen of Nations, the Mighty Mother of Civilization and of Art, at last

awakened out of sleep,
And stood, full-armed and free; and all her sons
Knew it was glorious to have looked on her
And felt it beautiful to die for her.

LITERARY HISTORY

Ut sylvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
Prima cadunt; ita verborum vetus interit aetas.

HORACE, *Ars Poetica*, 60, 61.

If Siena possessed no Dante, her literary history is none the less rich in illustrious names.

In the Dugento the vulgar tongue was already in common use, and the last glorious years of Ghibelline Siena were resonant with song. Even the celebrated *canzone* of FOLCACCHIERO DE' FOLCACCHIERI (1), which was formerly believed, on internal evidence, to have been written as early as 1177, is attributed by modern criticism to the middle of the 13th century (2). Then as now, verse came to the lips of the Sieneſe almost as spontaneously as prose, and, had they been preserved to us, the popular ballads of the period would, doubtless, throw as much light upon the

(1) See D. G. ROSSETTI. — *Early Italian Poets* (edition Gardner) page 23.

(2) D'ANCONA e BACCI. — *Manuale della Lett. Ital.* (Firenze, 1903) vol. I, p. 28.

life of old Siena as do our own Border Ballads on the lives of the moss-troopers. Unfortunately, the vast majority of them were never committed to writing, and, like the *Ballata de Torniella* (1), have been forgotten long ago. Nevertheless enough of them remain to give us some idea of their general characteristics. Thus, for example, we have a curious political poem, attributed by Celso Cittadini to the year 1262, which clearly mirrors the state of public opinion in Siena after the Guelfs had departed to Radicofani in December 1261; for then, as the historian Giugurta Tommasi tells us, “ all men thought and many wise men said that the Pope was minded to use that folk for his own ends and to afflict the Republic with a new war ”. It is composed in the form of a dialogue, the interlocutors being Provenzano Salvani (2) and a certain Rugieri. The former argues that by the secession of the Guelfs “ lo Komune è sconfitto ”, that he “ who denies the Christian law ” by siding with the excommunicated Manfred must lose his soul, and demands :

Qual Signoria è sovrana
Tra il papa e re Manfredi ?

Provenzano, on the other hand frankly defends the Ghibelline cause, declaring that, if the Pope

(1) See my *Palio and Ponte*, p. 80 n.

(2) See pages 37-40 *suprà*.

is hostile to Siena, Christ himself is with her :

Rugieri, or ti konforta
Ed abi giuoko et riso :
Gieso Cristo la tiene et porta
Da Mieì non è diviso ,
Lo franko popolo accieso
La porrà in altura,
Siena, cio m'è viso,
Città di natura ! (1)

Christ and the Free People ! What better champions could Siena ask ?

A little later, in the half of the century, we have two poets, contemporaries of Dante : CECCO ANGIOLIERI (1258 ? - 1312 ?) and BINDO BONICHI (1260-1337). Of these the former is probably best known to the general reader in connection with his love for pretty Becchina, and by reason of that extremely unpleasant adventure of his at Buonconvento which Boccaccio has so vividly described for us in the *Decameron* (IX, 4). A complete edition of his sonnets was published, in 1906, by Prof. Aldo Franc. Massèra, with very copious illustrations and notes (2), but the most

(1) See the *Rime antiche senesi trovate da E. Molteni e illustrate da V. de Bartholomæis* published by the " Società Filologica Romana " (Roma, presso la Società, 1902) page 28.

(2) *I Sonetti di Cecco Angiolieri*, editi criticamente ed illustrati per cura di A. F. MASSÈRA, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1901.

S'io fossi Vita, non stare'	If I were Life, I'd run away
con lui.	from him;
E similmente farei a mia	And treat my mother to like
madre.	calls and runs.
S'io fossi Cecco, com'io sono	If I were Cecco (and that's
e fui,	all my hope)
Torrei per me le giovane	I'd pick the nicest girls to
leggiadre,	suit my whim,
Le brutt' e vecchie lasce-	And other folk should get
rei altrui.	the ugly ones.

BINDO BONICHI was a man of quite another stamp. He is said to have sat in the Supreme Magistracy, and was buried in the Church of San Domenico. He seems, judging by his poems, to have been a confirmed pessimist, and he satirizes the vices and follies of his day with a bitterness which almost amounts to ferocity. The following sonnet is an adequate example :

Gli asin del mondo sono i mercatanti,
 E' cavalier que' ch' han per vizio onori,
 E li tiranni son gli uomini maggiori,
 Chi in corte è duca son cani latranti.
 E porci sono i cherchi e mal usati,
 E lupi sono i malvagi pastori,
 Ipocreti son li consiglieri
 (1)
 L'altra bruttaglia, ch'è peggiore, o tale,
 Ciascun per ingannare adescia l'amo ;
 Quegli è il più dotto, che più fa di male.
 Succidi, Iddio Signor, l'albero e il ramo,
 Se vogli far vendetta universale,
 E poi rinnova il mondo d'altro Adamo.

(1) Here there is a lacuna in the manuscript.

The *Rime di Bindo Bonichi da Siena* were published in 1867 in Bologna (presso Gaetano Romagnoli) in the *Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie inedite e rare*; while critical study of the life and works of the poet will be found in the *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* (Torino, Loescher, 1891), Vol. 18, Fasc. I, pp. 1-75.

Two Sienese poets of whom less is known, but who wrote at about the same period, are that MICO of whom Boccaccio speaks as living at the time of the Sicilian Vespers (1), and BENUCCIO SALIMBENI, who has left a few sonnets (2). Of GIOVANNI COLOMBINI (1300?-1367) and BIANCO DA SIENA I have already spoken (3). The *Laudi Spirituali* of the latter were published in Lucca, in 1851. The following are the opening lines of the only poem which can with any certainty be attributed to the former :

Diletto Iesù Cristo, chi ben t'ama
avendoti nel core sì ti brama,
te sempre contemplando non si sfama:
cantare e giubilar vo' per tuo amore.

(1) *Decameron* X. 7. The *canzonetta* there given, is, I believe, the only poem of his which has come down to us. Compare UGURGIERI, *Le Pompe Sanesi*, I. 546.

(2) One of these is published by G. GARGANI, *Della Lingua Volgare nel secolo XIII in Siena* (Siena, Tip. Lazzeri, 1868) page 84. Two will be found in connection with the *Rime di Bindo Bonichi*, *op. cit.*, pp. 159, 164.

(3) See pages 101-102 *supra*.

Sfamar non me ne posso del diletto;
tant' amor mi circunda nell' affetto,
ch' il tengo nelle braccia sempre stretto :
cantare e giubilar vo' per suo amore.

I' vengo dentr' al core contemplando
e vadamene sempre inebriando,
poi so' inebriato vo' danzando :
cantare e giubilar vo' per suo amore.

Danzando, el cor mi sento venir meno ;
quando di Iesù Cristo so' ben pieno
non posso ritener l' anima a freno ;
cantare e giubilar vo' per suo amore (1).

While the production of Italian poetry in the 13th century was abundant and varied, that of prose was scanty. The oldest specimen dates from 1231 and consists of short notices of profits and expenses by Mattasalà di Spinello dei Lambertini of Siena (2). There is however, nothing which can be dignified by the name of literature in these dry and colourless items ; although it is undoubtedly interesting and curious to learn what was spent “ *nele maniche di mona Moscada* ” or for “ *u 'cero per san Niccolò* ”. Far more important are the commercial letters of Arrigo Accattapane, Aldobrandino Gonzolino, Andrea de' Tolomei and other Sienese merchants, published by Paoli and

(1) Published by G. PARDI in the *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, vol. II (1895), page 47.

(2) N. TOMMASÉO, *Ricordi di un famiglia senese del secolo decimoterzo*. “ *Arch. Stor. It.* ”, Tom. V. (1847) App. No. 20.

Piccolomini in 1871 (1); and the letters to Geri and Guccio Montanini published by A. Lisini in 1889 (2); although even these can hardly be considered literature (3).

Of Sienese chronicles anterior to the 14th century but little need be said, since "they are so confused that it is almost impossible to disentangle truth from fiction, or even to decide the personality of the various authors". Indeed, almost the only reliable data which we possess from which to reconstruct the history of that period, is to be found in the governmental records of the Republic. Among these may be mentioned the *Libri di Biccherna*; the five *Instrumentarii* (especially the *Caleffo Vecchio*); the *Deliberazioni del Consiglio della Campana*; and the *Brevi* of the various magistrates, most of which were incorporated in the *Constitutum Comunis Senarum* which Professor Zdekauer has so splendidly edited.

In the 14th century, however, the chronicles

(1) *Lettere volgari del secolo XIII scritte da senesi pubblicate da C. PAOLI e da E. PICCOLOMINI*. Bologna, G. Romagnoli, 1871.

(2) *Lettere volgari del secolo XIII a Geri e a Guccio Montanini pubblicate per la prima volta*. Siena, Tip. Lazzeri, 1889.

We have also a *Testamento volgare senese del 1288*, published in the *Bullettino della Società Filologica Romana*, Num. III, pag. 49. In Roma, Presso la Società, 1902.

(3) A BARTOLI, *Storia della Letteratura &c.*, op. cit., vol. III, p. 10.

begin to possess some historical value, as well as a certain degree of literary merit. Those attributed to ANDREA DEI, AGNOLO DI TURA called *Il Grasso*, and NERO DI DONATI are published by Muratori in his *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. XV., and are written in a style which, if not elegant, displays a directness, picturesqueness and vigour which render them most fascinating reading. The last of the three has almost entirely lost “that cold and monotonous impersonality which characterizes the mediæval writer”.

Then too, the statutes were translated into the vulgar tongue. Of these, Milanesi has printed two (the *Breve dell’Arte de’ Pittori* and the *Breve dell’Arte degli Orafi*) in the first volume of his *Documenti*; while three volumes of *Statuti Senesi* have been published in Bologna *per cura della R. Commissione pe’ testi di lingua*. Of *Il Costituto del C. di Siena volgarizzato nel MCCCIX-MCCCX*, I have already spoken (1).

In the 14th century also, translation were made of many of the classical authors. Among these we may mention that of the *Æneid*, by Misser CIAMPOLO DEGLI UGURGIERI (1340) (2), and the *Fables of Æsop*, by an unknown autor (3).

(1) See page 55 *supra*.

(2) This is the first translation of the *Æneid* into the vulgar tongue; for the celebrated *Fatti d’Enea* of GUIDO DA PISA is hardly even a paraphrase, but rather the story of Æneas retold in Italian.

(3) *Le Tavole d’Esopo volgarizzate per uno da Siena*,

Turning to religious writings, the first place is of course held by CATERINA BENINCASA. "Hers", says Professor Bartoli, "was the strongest, clearest, and most exalted religious utterance that made itself heard in Italy in the 14th century". By the common consent of Italian scholars, her writings rank among the acknowledged classics of the language; and the Della Cruscans have placed them on the jealously-watched list of their authorities (1). Another ascetic writer of the same period was Fra FILIPPO AGAZZARRI (1339-1422), Prior of the Monastery of Lecceto, whose *Assempri* are written in an idiom which Carpellini calls *sanessissimo spiccato*. A very able study of them has been made by Professor Antonio Marenduzzo (2). To the letters of GIOVANNI COLOMBINI I have already alluded (3), and we may pass on to Fra BERNARDINO ALBIZZESCHI, whose sermons in the vulgar tongue are "models of style and diction" (4).

Parma, Pietro Fiaccadori, 1860. In the *Cronica Senese*, MURATORI XV., col. 243, there is an extremely interesting note with regard to one of these fables.

(1) See, however, the article on St. Catherine in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, cited *supra*.

(2) *Gli "Assempri" di Fra Filippo da Siena*, Siena, Tip. Nava, 1899—The text of the *Assempri* was published by D. C. F. CARPELLINI in 1864, and forms the second volume of the "Piccola Biblioteca Senese". In my "*Ensamples of Fra Filippo &c., op. cit.*", I have attempted a translation of several of these narratives.

(3) Page 101 *supra*. See also G. PARDI, *op. cit.*

(4) See page 99 *supra*.

In the first half of the 15th century we encounter the earliest of the Sienese *Novellieri*, GENTILE SERMINI, who probably composed his forty *Novelle* about the year 1425. He also wrote verses which are not devoid of grace and charm. To this period belongs ÆNEAS SYLVIUS PICCOLOMINI, humanist, historian and political writer. His *Storia di due amanti* gives a striking picture of Sienese social life; but it was not a book which as Pope he could read without shame, and Pius II apologised for having written it. It contained, he said, two things—an indelicate story and an edifying moral; all read the first, but few heeded the last (1). Of him the late Bishop Creighton has said that “he is one of the earliest representatives of the man of letters pure and simple; he is perhaps the only man of letters who has been equally eminent in literature and in statesmanship”.

It was a century of versifiers; everybody could write sonnets, madrigals and *canzoni*; and it gave birth to the *Canto Carnascialesco*. If Siena produced no great poet, many of her sons could rhyme musically. For some account of their verses the reader is referred to A. RICCI's excellent lecture on the *Canzonieri senesi della seconda metà del quattrocento* (2).

(1) See CREIGHTON's *History of the Papacy*, vol. III, pag. 334.

(2) In the *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* Vol. VI (1899) pages 421-465.

Of the authorship of the chronicle generally attributed to NICCOLÒ DI VENTURA (d. 1464), and published by Giuseppe Porri in his *Miscellanea Storica Sanese*, nothing is certainly known, though it is probably a modernised version of a 13th century original. Whoever wrote it, it is a most picturesque piece of work and gives a stirring account of the battle of Montaperto. It should be read by every visitor to Siena. As a battle-piece, painted in glorious words, it stands without a rival. There you may read of gallant deeds, of armed knights crashing together, of splintering shields, of hard mail hewn, of shattered helms. There shall you find blood, blood in torrents. blood everywhere --the blood of “those dogs of Florentines”, whom the valorous people of Siena slew like swine in a slaughter house. They seemed, cries the chronicler, *porci feriti*. And to all this you will pass from a scene of prayer and reconciliation in the Holy Sienese church, where the Bishop and his clergy sing “the old Latin hymns of peace and love”, and where the injured is seeking out the injurer to kiss him on the mouth and to pardon him; while over all, battle-field and Cathedral alike, broods the sacred form of God’s Most Holy Mother, Siena’s Protector and Advocate.

A little later we have the chronicle of ALLEGRETTO ALLEGRETTI, in Muratori (vol. XXIII); and during the same period flourished SIGISMONDO

TIZIO (1448-1528), who wrote, with his own hand, a history of Siena from its origin up to the second decade of the 16th century, in ten enormous volumes, in moderate latin. This monumental work, although discursive and disconnected, is always valuable to consult. The original is preserved in the Biblioteca Chigiana in Rome, but the Biblioteca Comunale of Siena possesses a copy, made in the 18th century by the Ab. Galgano Bichi, to which is prefixed a biographical notice.

The best Sieneſe historians belong to the 16th century. They are ORLANDO MALAVOLTI (1515-1596), a man of noble birth, “ the most trustworthy of all ” (1); ANTONIO BELLARMATI; ALESSANDRO SOZZINI DI GIROLAMO, the author of the *Diario delle cose avvenute in Siena dal 20 luglio 1550 al 28 giugno 1555* (published in the “ Archivio Storico Italiano ” together with other narratives and documents relative to the fall of the Republic); and GIUGURTA TOMMASI, of whose history only the first ten books have been printed, owing, to the death of his wife Livia Cinuzzi in 1628, before she had completed the task of editing her husband’s work.

In the same category with these historians Professor Paoli mentions the learned scholars

(1) C. PAOLI in the Article *Siena* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

CELSE CITTADINI (d. 1627); UBERTO BENVOLIENTI (d. 1733), one of Muratori's correspondents (the notes to the *Cronica Senese* are from his pen); and GIO. ANTONIO PECCI, the author of the *Memorie storico-critiche della città di Siena*, which, beginning with the Life of Pandolfo Petrucci, carry the history of Siena up to the year 1559. He also wrote a history of the Bishopric of Siena.

In the 16th century, ALESSANDRO PICCOLOMINI, Bishop of Patras, produced that curious work known as *La Raffaella ovvero della bella Creanza delle Donne*. It is a dialogue between a procuress and a youthful wife, whom she is endeavouring to corrupt; and if not particularly edifying, throws considerable light upon the toilet arrangements of the Sienese ladies. To this same period belong the *Novelle* of SCIPIONE BARGAGLI, of M. GIUSTINIANO NELLI and of PIETRO FORTINI, as also the *Raccolta di Burle, Facetie, Motti e Buffonerie di tre Huomini Sanesi* of ALESSANDRO SOZZINI (1518-1608). None of these works are remarkable for their delicacy, though the first mentioned author is a writer of some merit. The *Raccolta* of Sozzini is amusing, and, at the worst, only vulgar; but the *Novelli* of Nelli and of Fortini are both trivial and indecent. With regard to the latter especially, it is not a question of the mythical innocence of the "young person", or even of that exaggerated prudery which has earned for us Englishmen a not altogether unmerited

reputation for hypocrisy among our continental neighbours. Here there can be no mistake. Fortini is openly and flagrantly obscene.

In the 17th century we find LUDOVICO SERGARDI (Quinto Settano), a Latinist and satirical writer of much talent and culture ; but “ the most original and brilliant figure in Sienese literature is that of GIROLAMO GIGLI (1660-1772), author of the *Gazzettino*, *La Sorellina di Don Pilone*, *Il Vocabolario Cateriniano*, and the *Diario Ecclesiastico*. As humorist, scholar, and philologist Gigli would take a high place in the literature of any land. His resolute opposition to all hypocrisy—whether religious or literary—exposed him to merciless persecution from the Jesuits and the Della Cruscan Academy ” (1).

Of the scientific writers of Siena I very frankly confess that I have read and know absolutely nothing. I therefore quote the following paragraph from the pen of the late Professor Paoli :

“ In theology and philosophy the most distinguished names are— BERNARDINO OCHINO and LELIO and FAUSTO SOCCINI (16th century) ; in jurisprudence, three SOCCINI —MARIANO senior, BARTOLOMMEO, an MARIANO junior (15th and 16th centuries) ; and in political economy, SALLUSTIO

(1) C. PAOLI, Article cited.

BANDINI (1677-1760), author of the *Discorso sulla Maremma*. In physical science the names most worthy of mention are those of the botanist PIER ANTONIO MATTIOLI (1501-1572), of PIRRO MARIA GABRIELLI (1643-1705), founder of the Academy of the Physiocritics, and of the anatomist PAOLO MASCAGNI (d. 1825)".

Among the modern Sieneſe writers who are worthy to be placed in the ſame category with Celſo Cittadini, Uberto Benvoglienti and Gio. Antonio Pecci, may be mentioned SCIPIONE BORGHESI (d. 1878) who has left us a precious ſtore of hiſtorical, bibliographical and biographical documents; and the librarian C. F. CARPELLINI (d. 1872), the author of ſeveral monographs on the origin of Siena and the conſtitution of the Republic. He was one of that ſplendid band of ſcholars who with F. L. POLIDORI (d. 1865), the director of the then naſcent *Archivio di Stato*, founded, in 1859, the *Società Senese di Storia Patria Municipale*, the precursor of the preſent *Commissione Senese di Storia Patria*, which is doing ſo much good work "in collecting materials for a complete hiſtory of Siena and of its ancient State". Among its members, paſt and preſent, are to be found ſuch names as LUCIANO BANCHI (d. 1887), GAETANO MILANESI (d. 1895), CESARE PAOLI (d. 1902), ALESSANDRO LISINI, LODOVICO ZDEKAUER, and NARCISO MENGOZZI, to mention only a few among the many learned men to whoſe

labours Siena and those who love her owe so great a debt of gratitude (1).

(1) See the *Relazione e Indici, pubblicati dalla Commissione Senese di Storia Patria nella R. Accad. dei Rozzi, per il Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche da tenersi in Roma*. Siena, Tip. Lazzeri, 1902.

“ THE PALIO DELLE CONTRADE ”

Chi vedesse azzuffar costoro in piazza
Con tanta pertinacia per la parte,
Avendo mille carte
Non crederia che non fosser nimici
E l'altro dì son fratelli ed amici.

GENTILE SERMINI. *Il giuoco delle pugna.*

In a work of this character, a mere *Guide Book*, it is, of course inevitable that very much which is interesting and important should be omitted. Especially do I regret that I have been unable to deal with that most fascinating of subjects, the social life of the old Sienese. That is however, too large a question to be even touched upon in the two or three pages still at my disposal, and I must be content to refer the reader to a previous work, *The “ Ensamples ” of Fra Filippo, a study of Mediaeval Siena*. There, taking as my text certain “ tales with a purpose ” told by an Augustinian friar of the Monastery of Lecceto, I have discussed the social state and beliefs of Italy, and especially of Siena, during

the later Middle Ages and early Renaissance. I have sought to discover how men lived in those far-off days ; what passions swayed them and what hopes consoled ; how they ate, slept, dressed, gambled, laboured, loved and died ; and, as I have cited my authorities at every step, I venture to hope that, whatever may be the shortcomings of the book itself, it will at least serve to indicate the principle sources of information on the questions treated.

Unquestionably, however, the best book to consult on the whole Sienese story is Langton Douglas' *History of Siena* : a work which, although it was published over twelve years ago, still stands without a rival.

In this place, I merely propose to say a few words concerning the *Palio delle contrade*, an institution which is peculiar to Siena, and which is certainly one of the most curious and interesting of mediæval survivals.

Siena is, as I have said, divided into seventeen *contrade* or wards. Between these civic divisions a strong feeling of rivalry exists, which finds its vent in the races which are run twice yearly, on the 2nd July and the 16th August, in the historic Piazza del Campo (now Piazza Vittorio Emanuele). In these races each horse and jockey (*fantino*) represents a *contrada*. The prize is a *palio* or banner. In each race ten *contrade* compete, seven because it is their turn

to do so (*d'obbligo*), and three because their names have been drawn to take part in the race (*a sorte*). The horses, which are distributed by lot, are ridden bare-backed, and each *fantino* wields the classic *nerbo*, which he uses rather as a weapon of offence than as a whip. The course is three times round the Piazza, the paved roadway, which forms its circumference, being covered with sand for the occasion, while wooden seats are erected in front of the shops which occupy the basements of the surrounding palaces.

Before the race, each horse is blessed and sprinkled with holy water in the chapel of its *contrada*.

Companies representing the several wards, clad in their respective liveries (*comparse*), march round the Piazza to the sound of music, and with waving banners. It is, in fact, a splendid pageant, bearing a distinctly mediæval stamp, and in full harmony with the architecture and history of the town.

Moreover, the *Palio* has a very real religious significance. It was instituted in honour of the Virgin Mary, the patron saint of the city; and her figure is painted upon the banner which gives its name to the race.

The history of the festival is long and interesting, and, whether we regard it as a religious ceremony or as a development of the old games of *Pugna* and *Elmora*, can be traced back to the

13th century. (See, on the whole subject my *Our Lady of August and the Palio of Siena*, and, more fully, in *Palio and Ponte*).

The *Palio* “is still a vital part of Sienese social life”, and certainly he who has not seen it does not know Siena.



PART II

ARTISTIC

BY

LUCY OLCOTT

EDITOR'S NOTE

In having undertaken the revision of the second half of this Guide, I feel that I owe something in the nature of an apology to its writer. The circumstances which led to my acceptance of Sig. Torrini's invitation have already been stated by him in his Preface. For a number of reasons, it has unfortunately not been possible for me to submit my notes either to the approval or to the censure of the authoress. That they may, in certain instances, be at variance with her own later opinions, is quite possible. On the other hand, it is very probable that, in many cases, they merely forestall such corrections as she already had in mind when she laid aside the revision of the present text in favour of a freshly-written whole. That a new edition, in whatever form, of a work such as this, should require a reasonable amount of emendation, is too evident to require pointing out. During the fifteen years that have elapsed since its first issue (although bearing the date of 1903, the first edition was actually distributed in 1902), our knowledge and appreciation of Siena's art and artists have under-

gone a notable enlargement, while the literature connected with these subjects has developed into a truly formidable bibliography. Nevertheless, although calling for certain inevitable corrections, this volume still remains what it was at the time of its first appearance—the best, if not the only critically intelligent, guide to what is, beyond question, one of the most beautiful and fascinating of all Italian cities. While its popularity with the general public may be gauged, as Sig. Torrini has rightly remarked, by the rapid exhaustion of its earlier editions, its indispensability to students is equally evident in its constant and courteous quotation by various writers upon art, as well as in the frequent and wholly unacknowledged pilferings which it has undergone at the hands of a certain less conscientious element of the same class.

In order more clearly to distinguish the limits of my share in the preparation of this edition, I have thought it best to confine my notes within rectangular brackets.

F. MASON PERKINS.

Sassoforte (Lastra a Signa), 1916.

PREFATORY NOTE TO THE ORIGINAL EDITION

In writing my half of this Guide, I have judged it best to preface the actual description of the city by a short introductory chapter on Sienese Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting. Owing to the limited space at my command, these notices are of the briefest, and include a mention only of the more important artists; they do not pretend to form a critical essay, the writing of which was impossible within the limits of this Guide. Nevertheless, what little I have written will, I hope, suffice to arouse a greater interest in the somewhat neglected art of Siena, and also to counteract, in a measure, the undue attention which has hitherto been given—at least by the majority of visitors—to the Lombard Sodoma, at the expense of the far greater native Sienese painters. Those visitors who are desirous of enlarging their acquaintance with this delightful school of painting should consult Crowe and Cavalcaselle's account of the same (*a*), and more particularly Mr.

(*a*) [To Cavalcaselle belongs the unquestionable merit of the first critical illustration of the Sienese school of painting as a whole. His treatment of the artists of the Trecento is, however, far more satisfactory than is his handling of the painters of the following century, regarding whose aims and decorative ideals he seems to have felt but little sympathy or understanding. Hardly less than to Caval-

Bernard Berenson's essay on the Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance, which contains the most comprehensive and conclusive criticism yet written on the Sienese school (*a*). It is perhaps hardly necessary to advise the reader carefully to peruse Mr. Heywood's historical sketch before studying the monuments of the city, as a far more satisfactory idea of a people's art can be arrived at with some previous knowledge of its history.

I have to thank the Director of the Sienese Archives, Cav. Lisini, Sig. Casanova, and Mr. William Heywood, for various historical data. For many valuable suggestions upon architectural matters I am indebted to Mr. Bernard H. Webb. In regard to attributions and artistic matters in general, however, my best thanks are due to Mr. Bernard Berenson and to Mr. F. Mason Perkins, both of whom have placed at my service the results of much of their wide knowledge and continued study of Sienese art.

Siena, 1902.

LUCY OLCOTT.

caselle the student owes a lasting debt, although of a different kind, to Gaetano Milanesi. A contemporary of Caval-caselle, Milanesi's work is of an archivistic rather than a critical nature. To him is due the credit for having brought order out of the chaos which had reigned, up to his day, in the field of Siena's art-history].

(*a*) [The literature of Sienese art has received many and valuable additions during the years that have elapsed since the publication of this Guide, and is now as extensive as it was then meagre].

INTRODUCTORY

ARCHITECTURE

Although her many fortress-towers have long since been reduced to their present inconspicuous height, Siena still preserves, as does no other city in Italy, her mediæval aspect. Perhaps because her chequered political career and the consequent lack of wealth and enterprise had already partly stayed her hand, perhaps because the classic feeling of the Renaissance was slow to appeal to the more romantic nature of the Sieneſe, the city poſſeſſes comparatively few buildings of that period, the greater part of her architecture remaining to-day as it was produced during the 13th and 14th Centuries—an architecture which, as was the caſe with few exceptions throughout all Italy, adopted Gothic ideas more as decorative features than as thoſe of pure conſtruction.

Several important Renaissance buildings were erected in Siena, it is true, before 1500 (1)—more than one of them on Florentine rather than on Sieneſe deſigns,—but theſe repreſent iſolat-

(1) Such as the Loggia del Papa, the Palazzo Nerucci, the Palazzo del Governo, the Palazzo dei Diavoli, the Palazzo Spannocchi and the Palazzo di San Galgano.

ed examples rather than the general acceptance of a style which did not meet with a truly popular approval in that city until the 16th Century was well under way. In more respects than one, the conservative nature of the Sienese people, and their greatly reduced circumstances, were directly beneficial to the preservation of an architectural unity during those later centuries of corrupt and misguided taste, which resulted in such fatal and deplorable “restorations” and “rebuildings”, white-washings and enlargements, in the more prosperous cities of Italy. Such rare examples of the Later Renaissance and Baroque styles as are to be found within her walls, still retain, moreover, much of the refinement and good taste which were, throughout Siena’s history, such distinguishing features of her artistic creations.

Up to a very recent date, Siena has also escaped, to a remarkable extent, the still more dangerous effects of 20th Century “improvements”. Unfortunately, however, that craze for unnecessary and ill-advised municipal adornment which has already proved so ruinous to the artistic appearance of many another Italian town, has lately given signs of a much-to-be-regretted outbreak even here (1). It can but be sincerely hoped that this

(1) The recent disfigurements of the once charming Viale Curtatone, and a few of the recently erected edifices outside the Porta Camollia, may be taken as excellent and painful examples of this modern tendency. In their inexplicable hatred of trees, also, the Sienese are already rivalling

deplorable infection may be checked, before it be too late, by those of Siena's citizens who still have at heart her glorious record of a long-departed time.

Of the early architectures of Central Italy, there are scant traces in Siena. Some few and unimportant Etruscan tombs, unearthed some years ago outside the Porta Camollia, are all that can be said to date from the time of the city's early origin. Of Roman work (1) there remain some vestiges of brick construction in different places — on the Via Cavour near the Palazzo Tantucci, in the west wall of the Palazzo del Magnifico, at the corner of the Via di S. Pietro and the Via Tommaso Pendola. At one of these points there exists a fragment of a Roman inscription; and still another, preserved to us entire, is now embedded in the Porta Romana. The tablet on the Via Cavour, bearing the somewhat enigmatical words *VERO ET VALE*, is to be seen inserted in the wall to the right of the shoemaker's shop, opposite the Palazzo Tantucci. The brick-work above it, and that now forming the central portion of the tower opposite, was probably a part of

many of their like-minded compatriots in other parts of Italy. The *Passeggio della Lizza* and the above-mentioned *Viale Curtatone*, not to speak of other sites, have been deprived of much additional beauty by the needless cutting down of trees and shrubs.

(1) For a detailed study of Roman Siena, see P. Rossi, *Le Origini di Siena*.

the Northern Gate of Roman Siena (1). The tablet on the Porta Romana is inscribed :

SILVANO. SAC.
C. VITRICIUS
MEMOR. VI. VIR
AUGUSTAL
VO. SOL.

It was put up in honour of the rustic deity Silvanus, by a certain Vitricius, who evidently belonged to the cult of the deified Augustus.

The Lombard-Romanesque work of the 12th and preceding centuries is represented by the brick façades of two little-known churches (2). That of Sta. Maria di Betlem (3), outside the

(1) The southern entrance to the city was probably through the Porta Aurea—a gateway situated near the present Arco di Sant'Agostino. The east gate was somewhere near the church of S. Martino, and the west gate at the top of the slope which leads from the Via di Città to Porta Fontebranda.

(2) Remains of Romanesque work are also visible in the old church of Sant'Ansano in Castel Vecchio, possibly at one time the principal church of early mediaeval Siena. The remnants of the neighbouring church of S. Quirico are also essentially Romanesque in character.

(3) This church, with its annexed hospital, was once a dependance of the Bishopric of Bethlem, which was instituted after the First Crusade, in 1099, and which, at the beginning of the 13th Century, was transferred from Bethlem to the diocese of Auxerre in France. The above-mentioned church, together with others of the Sienese diocese, was conferred upon the Bishop of Bethlehem by a bull of Clement IV, dated May 11th, 1266. The church is said to have been founded in 1133. The earliest documentary mention is one of 1189. In the course of time, the patrimony passed into the hands of the Piccolomini family, to whom it was assigned as a benefice. See Cavallucci, *Storia*

Porta Romana, is particularly remarkable for its simplicity and beauty of proportion. That of Sta. Chiara, a suppressed convent-church on the Via Pispini, now used as a military magazine, is scarcely less interesting, although, to the best of our knowledge, it has hitherto escaped the notice of architectural writers on Siena. The interiors of both these churches have been altered at various times, and their original plans in great part changed (*a*). Although no secular building remains to us in its Romanesque entirety, there are vestiges of this period still to be recognized in occasional weather-beaten lions' heads and other fragmentary bits of sculptural ornament, and in various entrance-ways, windows, and remains of stone foundation walls, scattered through different parts of the city.

As the Gothic system of architecture was definitely introduced into Siena by the advent of the Cistercian monks who founded the nearby Abbey of San Galgano (1), it would be

dell' Arte, vol. II, p. 195.

(*a*) [The churches of S. Donato, S. Cristoforo, S. Pietro alle Scale, also reveal, despite the drastic restorations of later centuries, obvious traces of their original Romanesque construction. Similar vestiges survive in portions of S. Andrea and S. Ansano in Castelveccchio].

(1) The first Gothic buildings in Italy, with the exception of S. Francesco at Assisi (begun in 1228 possibly by a French master) were erected by the Cistercians, the earliest being: Fossanuova, 1187-1208; Valvisciola, 1203-1267; and Casamari, 1203-1217. San Galgano, an outgrowth of the church at Casamari, was commenced in 1218, and finished in 1306.

advisable that visitors to the city make an early pilgrimage to the beautiful ruins of that church. A comparison can thus be made between the purity of this early French Gothic and the later work done on the Cathedral and throughout the city, and they will the better be enabled to realize the differences between Italian and Northern (or French) Gothic—although S. Galgano itself shows not only the restless ideals of the Gothic workman, but also much of the solidity and broadness of the then departing Romanesque. The Italian mason never grasped the northern idea of mysterious and endless height, of walls which are not so much walls as piers of strength to receive the weight of the roof and to support the real walls of glass, tracery, and lighter masonry. His ideals were rather those of solidity, simplicity, and space. His classical inheritance, always alive in Byzantine and Romanesque work, kept his interiors of a moderate height, and more spacious than those of his northern brethren; it caused him to string his façades with horizontal lines, and to leave broad wall surfaces, the bareness of which he relieved with bright frescoes or with alternate rows of coloured marble. Nevertheless, despite these differences, the Sieneſe temperament was in many ways more closely allied to that of the North than was that of most other Italian peoples—Dante himself once irefully likened it to that of the French!—and Italianized Gothic,

once having obtained a foot-hold in the republic, seems to have spread with incredible rapidity, developing there a character peculiarly its own. So popular did this pointed style become, and so anxious was each family of note to possess at least one prominent palace or domestic fortress, that, even at the present day, there is no other Italian city which contains so large a proportion of Gothic buildings as does Siena. Most important among all the edifices of this, the greatest period of her architectural activity, are the world-famous Duomo, and the scarcely less interesting Palazzo Pubblico.

Although in plan obviously influenced by the Abbey of S. Galgano (*a*), the Cathedral of Siena is far less truly Gothic in feeling than is that of Orvieto, and retains many Romanesque elements in its construction and methods of decoration, not to speak of its purely Romanesque campanile. A detailed description of this church, commenced during the second quarter of the 13th Century, and of the various vicissitudes connected with its erection, is reserved for a subsequent part of this Guide.

The Palazzo Pubblico is, in a way, typical of many of the Sienese Gothic palaces (1). Its

(*a*) [The actual ground plan of the Sienese Duomo is, in its main portion, much older than of S. Galgano, and is essentially Romanesque in character (see *postea*).]

(1) At the end of the 13th Century, while that palace was in process of construction, a law was enacted by the

lower storey is of travertine and the upper walls of brick, with many clusters of small pointed windows divided by white marble shafts. This brick contruction, which is so characteristic a feature of Sienese palaces, probably came into general use early in the 14th Century, as the "Palazzo della Signoria" slowly reached completion; and finally, almost supplanting the earlier work in travertine, it gave the architect far greater opportunity to decorate his facade. However, it is interesting to note that the earliest of the Gothic palaces were probably built almost entirely of travertine, with undivided openings. Remnants of such fortress-like palaces may still be seen in the Via Stalloreghi, Nos. 4, 12, and 11, and in Via S. Martino, No. 9. The Palazzo Tolomei, also of travertine, and frequently cited as the earliest of Sienese palaces—its assigned year being 1205—cannot, as it now stands, date entirely from that period (1). Of the buildings in brick and stone,

State which ordained that all houses facing on the Piazza del Campo should have windows similiar to those of the Palazzo della Signoria, as it was then called. It naturally followed that other palaces were built after the approved pattern.

(1) There is every reason to suppose that the earlier palace was partly, or even wholly, destroyed in 1265, after an insurrection of the Guelphs; but more convincing arguments as to its real age are the elaborate window traceries of the upper storeys. The ground floor may possibly date from the first half of the 13th Century, but the remainder of the palace undoubtedly belongs to a later period.

probably modelled after the Palazzo Pubblico, the most important are the Palazzo Sansedoni, the Palazzo Grottanelli, and the imposing Salimbeni and Saracini palaces. The Palazzo Buonsignori is a splendid example of the highly decorative effect obtained by the use of brick alone (1). It would be easy to dwell in detail upon a score of other buildings scarcely less interesting than those already mentioned, but lack of space forbids.

Several Sieneſe architects of the 13th Century, ſometimes difficult to differentiate from the ſculptors of the period, are mentioned by name in the public books of Siena; but it is uſeleſs to ſpeak of them here, as their work can ſeldom be exactly identified, conſiſting, as it frequently did, in the erection of various fortifications, gates, *bottini*, fountains, etc. During the following century a few names ſtand out with ſome prominence. That of *Lorenzo Maitani* will ever be aſſociated with the ſplendid façade of Orvieto Cathedral (begun in 1310). *Camaino di Creſcentino*, during the ſecond and third decades of the Century, held the poſt of head architect of the Duomo of Siena—during a period, that is, which witneſſed the building of the preſent Baptiſtery, the beginning of the ſuperimpoſed choir, and the enlargement

(1) There is hardly a palace in Siena which has not ſuffered reſtoration or rebuilding at different periods; it is therefore impoſſible to aſſign the majority of buildings to any preſiſe dates.

of other portions of the Cathedral (a). He is also known to have been concerned, as early as 1298, with the construction of the Fonte Nuova. His son, *Tino di Camaino*, held the same position in connection with the Duomo for a short time only; his work, both as an architect and as a sculptor, was of more importance in Pisa and in Naples. *Agnolo di Ventura*, while head architect of the Commune, is said to have designed the Porta Tuffi, which was finished in 1325, and shortly afterwards to have commenced the rebuilding of the Porta Romana—then known as Porta S. Martino. His contemporary, *Agostino di Giovanni*, appears also to have been a builder of note. Yet another well-known Sienese architect, who laboured much in Naples, was *Lando di Pietro*. When, in 1339, the citizens of his native city decided to erect a new and vaster cathedral, incorporating the older edifice, they called upon him, as their most famous son, to act as head architect of the projected building. Lando was succeeded by *Giovanni d'Agostino*, son of the master mentioned above. Among the architects of the latter half of the Trecento, *Giovanni di Stefano* (not to be confused with an earlier and a later artist of the same name) was apparently of some consequence, but,

(a) [Camaino's connection with the Duomo lasted until 1338. He appears to have enjoyed the co-operation of his son for several years prior to the removal of the latter to Florence in 1320-1321].

like yet another Giovanni, better known as *Giovanni da Siena*, who was active during the first decades of the following Century, he seems to have spent most of his life away from his native town.

As has already been remarked, the Architecture of the Renaissance found but a tardy welcome in Siena. Passing over such tentative and transitional work as that of *Sano di Matteo*, we find in *Antonio Federighi* (active 1444-1490) one of the first real exponents of Renaissance architecture in this city. Elegance and refinement were the chief qualities of his work. It is to him that the little church of Sta. Maria delle Nevi—one of the most charming of Renaissance buildings in Siena—is probably due. A more certain of his creations is the almost equally pleasing chapel of the so-called “Palazzo dei Diavoli”. Far more conspicuous, as a monument, than either of the above, is the fine “Loggia del Papa”, designed by Antonio for Pius II in 1462. With Pope Pius and the advent of the Florentine architects Bernardo Rossellino and Giuliano da Maiano, the tide of Sienese thought turned toward a more complete realization of Renaissance ideals (a).

(a) [Although no building can today be ascribed to him in his native city, *Lorenzo di Pietro* (“*Vecchietta* .”) certainly deserves mention here among the Sienese architects of the Renaissance. His only authenticated surviving works, it is true, are of a military character (the fine castle of Sarteano—one of the most important examples of its kind—

To *Francesco di Giorgio* (1439-1502), one of Siena's most renowned citizens, we can ascribe no authenticated building in this city. Painter and sculptor, architect and commentator of Vitruvius, military and hydraulic engineer, his fame and popularity were second only to those of Leonardo da Vinci. He has remained better known, however, as an engineer, as the inventor of mines and various contrivances for war, than as an architect. Nevertheless, such authenticated architectural work as he has left, at Jesi and Ancona as well as at Cortona (1), shows great refinement and harmony of proportions, although, as frequently happens in Sienese work, it lacks something of the vigour of the Florentine school. We may here add that Sienese architecture of the Renaissance in general, although distinguished from that of the Florentines by a greater delicacy of detail and execution, falls considerably behind it in initiative

is due to him), but it is more than probable that he was a civil architect as well. He was the master of Francesco di Giorgio, no doubt in architecture and in engineering as well as in sculpture and in painting. Quite apart from what they have left us in actual structures, the deep interest of both these artists in architectural matters is amply evinced in the settings and back-grounds of their paintings, many of which contain motives and details of much originality and charm and of real value to the student of Renaissance forms. As much may be said again in connection with Neroccio].

(1) The church of Sta. Maria del Calcinaiò, near that city, Francesco's most important building, surely entitles him to rank among the foremost architects of the *Quattrocento*.

ability and breadth of conception. The achievements of Francesco di Giorgio's pupil *Giacomo Cozzarelli* (1453-1515) may be gauged by the present convent of the Osservanza, and the somewhat formless wreck of the Palazzo del Magnifico. Together with Cozzarelli, *Girolamo Ponsi* deserves remembrance, if only as the author of the church of S. Sebastiano in Valle Piatta (1507). What the eager and determined spirit of the Renaissance could achieve, when embodied in an architect possessing a nicely balanced and discerning mind, is demonstrated in the work of *Baldassarre Peruzzi* (1481-1537). His classicism is more Greek in quality than is that of any of his contemporaries, and is seldom either exaggerated or misapplied. One must, however, go to Rome, to Bologna, and to Carpi, to know him well, for, apart from the Palazzo Celsi (now known as the Palazzo Pollini), but little in Siena can be assigned to Peruzzi himself. Nevertheless, a considerable quantity of work shows his direct influence — such as the court-yard of the house of St. Catherine; the house front, No. 24, in the Via Baldassarre Peruzzi; and again, in a later development, the Villa Sta. Colomba, in the neighbourhood of the city.

With the Sienese followers of Peruzzi, among whom mention may be made of *Anton Maria Lari*, the architects of Siena ceased, from an artistic standpoint, to be of any great importance.

It is, nevertheless, interesting to note that their services were at times called upon by foreign princes, as when Henri II employed Girolamo Bellarmati to superintend the building up of Hâvre-de-Grace. And, at a later period, they extended the sphere of their activity not only throughout the countries of Europe, but as far as England itself (1). Of later Renaissance architecture in Siena, the Palazzo Tantucci (2) designed by *Bartolommeo Neroni*, and the church of S. Martino (*G. B. Pelori*) are excellent examples of their kind, while the church of Sta. Maria di Provenzano (*D. Schifanardi*) is an extraordinarily temperate specimen of the Baroque style.

The surprising architectural wealth of Siena, even as she stands to-day, has never met with sufficient recognition on the part of architectural or other writers, and the majority of visitors, in their hasty passage through this beautiful city, seldom stay to consider it from other than a merely picturesque point of view. For those, however, who are actuated by a more purely artistic interest in brick and stone, Siena has endless half-hidden treasure to offer.

(1) Giuliano Periccioli lived some time in England, during the 17th Century.

(2) Now part of the Monte dei Paschi. The officials of the Monte not only occupy this palace (the building to the north of the square) but also the Palazzo Salimbeni, on its eastern side (see page 43 *supra*). It is the latter palace which gives its name to the piazza.

SCULPTURE

As early as 1212 we have record in Siena of a corporation of *Maestri di Pietra*, which term was used to designate those who were not only sculptors, but often architects or builders as well. It was not, however, until the advent of Niccolò and Giovanni Pisano, and the consequent introduction of a greater technical facility and a more careful study of both natural and classic models, that a really distinctive school of Sienese sculpture rose into being. From this new-born school craftsmen went out, during the subsequent half-century, to all parts of Italy (1), and it is in strange cities, far rather than in their native home, that we are best enabled to study their productions. Such sculptors as remained in Siena herself appear to have been more occupied with various architectural duties connected with the construction of the Cathedral, and of other buildings, than in the exercise of their chosen profession — although sculptural work for the

(1) Even Florence possessed no true school of her own until the coming of Andrea Pisano, and freely drew on Siena for much of the work she ordered.

decoration of the original façade of that great church was doubtless begun at an early period (a). Of a certain *Ramo di Paganello*, who was famous in his day, we know only that he worked on this same façade. *Goro di Gregorio* has left us more certain proof of his talent in the sculptured tomb of San Cerbone at Massa Marittima, near Siena. In 1330, *Agostino di Giovanni* and *Agnolo di Ventura*, both of whom have been immortalized by Vasari, carved for the city of Arezzo one of its finest monuments—the tomb of the warrior-bishop Guido Tarlati, the original plan of which was long falsely attributed to Giotto. Nothing of their work in Siena can be identified, but Maestro Agostino's son, *Giovanni d' Agostino*, has left us a small signed tabernacle, still to be seen in the Oratorio di S. Bernardino (b). A contemporary of the above-named masters, *Tino di Camaino*—that interesting but at times somewhat heavy follower of the Pisani—evidently enjoyed a wide-

(a) [The façade of the Duomo, as we see it to-day, is doubtless in great part due to the designs of Giovanni Pisano, and much of its decoration is also the work of that master and his pupils (see *postea*)].

(b) [Mention should here also be made of *Gano*, who, in his sepulchral monuments to Bishop Tommaso d' Andrea and to Ranieri del Porrina, in the Collegiate Church of Casole (Val d' Elsa), proves himself to have been one of the foremost sculptors of his day. The standing figure of Ranieri, on the latter of these tombs, certainly ranks, in its grandeur and power of characterization, among the most impressive master-pieces of Italian Trecento sculpture].

spread reputation, if we may judge from the number of sculptured tombs which he was called upon to furnish for various personages of his time. In Siena we have his tomb of Cardinal Petroni; in Pisa that of the Emperor Henry VII; in the Cathedral and in Sta. Maria Novella at Florence, those of the two bishops, Orso and Aliotti. In Naples, where he spent the last fifteen years of his life, he erected several similar and equally important monuments, mostly for princes of the royal house of Anjou. It is in this last-named city that his work can best be studied. *Cellino di Nese*, who passed much of his life in Pistoia, carved, in 1337, the tomb of Messer Cino, the famous jurist-poet and friend of Dante (*a*). This was probably the first of a series of secular monuments to scholars and professors which later became popular in Bologna and in other cities of Italy, and of which there is an interesting example in the University at Siena. Indeed, the greater part of the Sienese work of this century (*b*),

(*a*) [Cellino's exact position among the sculptors of his day is somewhat obscure. Recently published documents would seem to reveal him in the light rather of a contractor than of a practising artist. He may well, however, have been both].

(*b*) [The Sienese sculpture of the *Trecento* still offers an ample field for study. Many of its monuments have been recently illustrated by Sig. Venturi (in vol. IV. of his *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*), but a critical history of the school as a whole, and of its varied developments, remains to be written].

with the exception of that on the cathedrals of Siena and Orvieto, is limited to the carving of sepulchral monuments, both of a religious and secular type. It is still a matter of discussion whether the beautiful sculptures in low relief which adorn the facade of Orvieto, are of Florentine or Sienese execution. It is more than probable that they are the work of the latter school, embodying, as they do, one of the greatest achievements of Italian-Gothic sculpture. *Lorenzo Maitani*, already mentioned as the architect of the facade, has of late been accredited with their authorship (1), but it seems preferable to attribute them to the school as a whole, as they distinctly show the work of different hands (a). But to whomsoever they may ultimately be given, there can be no doubt as to their having been produced under the predominating influence of the Pisani.

Towards the end of the 14th Century, the Sienese school of sculpture passed into a period of decadence unrelieved by any important work. The apparition of *Jacopo della Quercia* (1374-1428) is therefore the more startling and unexpected. Arising, as he did, at a time when the grand

(1) See Burckhardt's *Cicerone*, 8th edition, Vol. III, p. 396.

(a) [There can be no doubt that most, if not all, of these Orvietan sculptures are by Sienese followers of Giovanni Pisano. Certain evidence would seem to tend, moreover, toward the definite acceptance of Maitani as the author of some of the finest of the reliefs].

traditions of the earlier Trecento were already on the wane, Jacopo re-incarnated much that was characteristic of them in his work, adding at the same time something of the more markedly naturalistic ideals and higher technical perfection of the awakening Renaissance. The breadth and energy of his style—curiously divided as it is between Gothic and Renaissance—justify the appellation which has been bestowed upon him of the “ Precursor of Michelangelo, ” to whom he stands in closer relation than to any other sculptor of his own or of the following centuries (1). With none of the minute and oft-times exaggerated attention to detail bestowed on their work by so many of his Florentine contemporaries—such as Ghiberti and Donatello—he succeeded in imbuing his figures with a life and movement combined with a grace and beauty peculiarly his own. One of the earliest of his works was the tomb of Ilaria del Carretto at Lucca—without doubt one of the most impressively beautiful monuments of the earlier Renaissance. In Siena, his work is represented by the sadly mutilated, but still admirable ruins of the Fonte Gaia, now preserved in the Opera del Duomo (a), and by the relief of Zacharias and the Angel, and other single figures, on

(1) A study of the fine sculptures on the façade of S. Petronio at Bologna is sufficient to prove the truth of this assertion.

(a) [Now in the Palazzo Pubblico; see *postea*].

the Baptismal Font of S. Giovanni—a work which owes its original design, as a whole, to his own hand.

When the competition for the bronze doors of S. Giovanni in Florence took place, in 1401, two of the competitors were Sienese—Jacopo della Quercia and his pupil *Francesco Valdambri*. *Cino di Bartolo* was another pupil, but nothing is now known of his work save that he aided his master on the doors of S. Petronio at Bologna. *Pietro del Minella* was an assistant of more importance. He laboured with his master on the Font in S. Giovanni, and in the Duomo executed his share of several works which will be mentioned later, among them being one of the interesting *graffito* pavements of that church. Still another sculptor who worked on the Baptistery Font was *Goro di Neroccio*. More important than the above-named, however, in so far as the number and interest of their surviving creations are concerned, are the members of the Turini family—*Turino di Sano*, and his three sons, *Barna*, *Lorenzo*, and *Giovanni*—sculptors and bronze-casters certainly deserving of more notice than has hitherto been accorded them. Contemporaries of Quercia, and to some extent influenced by his powerful genius, they nevertheless display a considerable amount of individuality in their work, which is not devoid of a certain pleasing grace and expressiveness. Their combined talents may be

judged in two of the bas-reliefs on the above-mentioned Font of S. Giovanni. To Giovanni himself are due several of the single figures on the same Font, the holy-water basin in the Palazzo Pubblico, and, in all probability, the bronze wolf on the column in front of the same building. By two unknown, but much closer imitators of Quercia, we possess fine works in the churches of S. Martino and Sta. Margherita, while a third nameless artist, strongly affected by his noble style, has left us one of the most remarkable of Sienese statues in the splendid wooden figure of St. Nicholas in the church of Monn' Agnese.

Whatever may have been the extent of Jacopo della Quercia's influence on his immediate followers, he can scarcely be said to have founded a real or lasting school in Siena. Of the later of the two artistic generations which came immediately after his, only one sculptor can be rightly classed as showing any direct influence of his manner—*Antonio Federighi* (active 1444-1490). Far less gifted than was Quercia, Federighi still shows at times something of his energy of expression, although most of his sculpture is marked by a softness that was conspicuously absent from the older master's grander style (1). One of Federighi's chief claims to attention lies in the fact that he was the first of Sienese artists after

(1) As in the statues on the Loggia dei Nobili.

Quercia's day, to become thoroughly imbued with the "classic" spirit of the Renaissance, although this, perhaps, is even more obvious, and certainly more purely expressed, in his architectural, than in his sculptural, work.

Older and younger contemporaries of Federighi were Lorenzo di Pietro, usually known as "Vecchietta", Neroccio di Landi, and Giovanni di Stefano. *Vecchietta* (1412-1480) shows no sign of Quercia's influence, but seems early to have fallen under that of Donatello, of whom he became at a later period a somewhat exaggerated follower (1). Although his more mature work represents the very antithesis to that of Federighi, he is in no wise less important as a Sienese representative of the Renaissance. Dominated by utterly different ideals, and employing a technique equally dissimilar, there exists between his minute naturalistic style and the broader and freer one of Federighi, a difference somewhat similar to that which exists between Donatello

(1) As an example of this exaggeration, note the striking bronze figure of the Risen Christ in the Hospital church of S. Maria della Scala. [This highly characteristic statue is a notable example of Vecchietta's mastery in the technical handling of bronze. Other remarkable specimens of the artist's work in that metal are the sepulchral figure of Mariano Socini in the Bargello at Florence and the wonderful relief of the Resurrection in the Morgan Collection at New York—not to mention the admirable ciborium of the Sienese Duomo. In all of these works Lorenzo shews himself less as an imitator or exaggerator of Donatello than as the possessor of a powerfully accentuated style of his own].

and Jacopo della Quercia (a). *Neroccio di Landi* (1447-1500), painter and sculptor—as was Vecchietta—belongs to the foremost rank of Siena's artists, despite the extraordinary neglect with which he has hitherto been treated. Probably a pupil of Vecchietta (b), his work in sculpture is nevertheless far removed from that of his master both in style and spirit. That, as has recently been suggested, he was a follower of Federighi, whom, by the way, he far surpassed in nobility and refined grace, is very difficult to believe; and as far as he may be said to have chosen any model for imitation, Quercia's is the only work that we may name as such. Of his beautiful statues in the Duomo and the church of St. Catherine, particular mention will be made when speaking of those buildings. *Giovanni di Stefano* is another

(a) [Vecchietta the sculptor far exceeds Federighi in depth, character, and technical accomplishment. As a worker in bronze, more particularly, he is unsurpassed by any European master, either of his own or of a later time. That he was influenced by Donatello is not improbable, but his own originality was not thereby diminished, and he can only be spoken of as a follower of the Florentine master in the broadest acceptation of the term. The wide variety of his gifts (he was active as architect, engineer, sculptor, bronze-founder, painter, miniaturist, goldsmith) and the pronounced individuality of his style, make of Vecchietta one of the most remarkable figures of the Sienese Renaissance and one which merits greater consideration than has ever yet been given it. We are pleased to note that the authoress' valuation of this artist has, in recent years, been in full agreement with our own, and that it has even been her intention to publish a special essay on his work].

(b) [Neroccio was certainly a pupil of Vecchietta].

comparatively unknown sculptor of this period. His are the attractive statue of Sant' Ansano in the Chapel of St. John in the Cathedral (1) and two of the bronze angels on the high-altar. Nor does the versatile *Francesco di Giorgio* deserve to be forgotten under this head. His two bronze angels, companions to those of Stefano, by no means fall behind them either in beauty or in grace. (a) With *Giacomo Cozzarelli*, Francesco's favourite pupil, the list of Siena's Quattrocento sculptors comes to an end. Creations of his hand—he worked in terra-cotta, wood, and bronze—are not uncommon in his native town, the finest of them being, unquestionably, the admirable terra-cotta group of the Deposition in the church of the Osservanza. A less known work (2) is the

(1) The beautiful chapel itself was built on his designs.

(a) [As a sculptor, and especially as a worker in bronze, Francesco is entitled to a much higher position than he has ordinarily been credited with. Apart from the remarkably beautiful Angels mentioned in the text, he is the real author of several works still generally held to be the creations of one or another of his most famous Florentine contemporaries. We may cite, in this respect, the bronze relief of the Pietà, in the church of S. Maria de' Carmini at Venice, and that of the Flagellation in the University Museum at Perugia, as well as the celebrated allegorical relief of "Discord", stucco replicas of which exist in the South Kensington Museum and in the Palazzo Saracini at Siena—all of which works, rightly restored to Francesco, some years ago, by P. Schubring, are still obstinately ascribed, by various well-known critics, to Verrocchio, to Pollajuolo, and even to Leonardo da Vinci].

(2) Most certainly not by Neroccio, to whom it has recently been attributed by the *Cicerone* (vol. II, p. 413).

kneeling figure of the Apostle John in the Opera del Duomo. But above all is this sculptor famous for his torch and banner holders on the Palazzo del Magnifico—superb examples of the decorative use of bronze.

Lorenzo di Mariano, known as *Marrina* (1476-1534), flourished in Siena after her school of eclectics was well under way. Retaining the innate Sienese delicacy of touch, and having lost the nobility and simplicity of her older artists, he often spent his efforts in carefully finished and overburdened detail (1). But whatever may have been his faults, lack of refinement and of decorative feeling were not among them, and, of its kind, his work can but rank very high. *Marrina* may virtually be said to have been the last of Siena's sculptors of any real importance. Of *Beccafumi's* bronze work we need only say that it has met with less attention than it deserves, sharing, as it does, much of the originality common to that master's painting.

As was the case with her architects and painters, Siena's stone-cutters never fell, during the centuries that followed, into the disorderly extravagance that marked the history of other schools, and such late sculpture as she turned out, although generally devoid of any special in-

(1) The reredos in the church of Fontegiusta shows him at his best.

terest, possesses at least the merit of a comparative sobriety not to be found in the mass of contemporary Italian work (a).

(a) [Among the Sienese sculptors of the later *Cinquecento* may be mentioned *Flaminio del Turco*, *Fulvio Signorini*, *Domenico Cafaggi*, and *Tommaso Redi*; among those of the following century, the family of the *Mazzuoli* (Dionisio, his sons Giuseppe and Giovan-Antonio, and his grandson, Bartolommeo.)]

PAINTING

Few schools of painting have met with such neglect as has that of Siena—a neglect which may in part be accounted for by the extreme conservatism of her art. For, although the work of the Sieneſe School, properly ſo called, may be ſaid to have extended over a period of two full centuries—and thoſe the moſt important in the hiſtory of Italian Painting—it virtually retained throughout that time the traditions, if not the technical practices, of the Middle Ages. Much has been ſaid and written as to the conſervative nature of the Sieneſe people, but to ſatisfactorily explain or analyze it would be an almoſt impoſſible taſk. It is ſufficient for our preſent purpoſe to accentuate the importance of its influence on Siena's art. It has been frequently urged that all inhabitants of mountain towns or diſtricts poſſeſs in common this ſame peculiarity of an exceſſive conſervatiſm, as a natural reſult of their geographical ſituation; but when regarding Siena in connection with her art hiſtory, her geographical poſition can count for but little. No

more inaccessible than she is to-day, her artists must, notwithstanding the bitter rivalry between the two cities, have frequently visited Florence, and have been well acquainted with the masterpieces of Florentine art, from those of Giotto to those of the Pollajuoli, Verocchio, and Ghirlandaio. However this may be, with but few and partial exceptions, they derived no direct benefit or inspiration from this acquaintance—even the powerful example of Giotto failing to leave more than a passing impress upon them. The Sienese State itself, far from encouraging any foreign influences within its walls, took good care, not only jealously to guard such great men as it happened to possess, but even to make difficult the establishing of foreign artists within the city (1). The Sienese painter, even in the 15th Century, thus retained to a greater or less degree the ideas and the methods of work of his fore-father Duccio, and continued painting visions of ideally beautiful Madonnas and of unsubstantial Saints—often seemingly boneless and comparatively flat—long after his contemporaries had abandoned mere Story-telling and dreamy Sentiment, and were seeking to realize the new and sterner Naturalistic ideals of the Renaissance. But despite these evident

(1) A clause of the *Breve dell' Arte de' Pittori Senesi* imposed a heavy fine, practically prohibitive, on each painter coming to reside in Siena—a curious law, but one very characteristic of the city.

defects—if, after all, we may term them such—the pictures which the Sienese painters produced are none the less great and delightful. It is only for those who seek solely the more material values of modelling and chiaroscuro that they have no charm. The Sienese artists possessed a gift for colour equalled only by that of the painters of Venice, and a peculiar feeling for line which entitles them to a place beside the Chinese and Japanese. Having combined with these two gifts all the elemental delicacy of the Sienese temperament and the unspoilt simplicity of mediaeval feeling, they painted pictures which have never been surpassed in pure loveliness of sentiment and of decorative effect. Surely, therefore, although they may have failed where the Florentine, the Veronese, and the Paduan, succeeded, the credit that is due to their success in their own chosen field need not thereby be either diminished or withheld. After all, have we not rather reason to be grateful than otherwise for those very limitations which alone made such an art a possibility? It is difficult under all circumstances to grasp the the ideals of another age, and particularly is it difficult for our modern mind to understand and appreciate, at first acquaintance, such artists of the Middle Ages as were the Sienese—but the aesthetic value of their work is not lessened by this fact, and is destined to survive throughout all time.

Many words have been spent over the question as to whether the Sienese school of Painting antedates the Florentine, or *vice versa*. Both Cimabue and Guido da Siena have had their partisans and supporters, claiming now for the one and now for the other the honour of having created a new school of art. But the misty personality of Cimabue, representative more of a group of different painters and of an artistic movement than of an individuality (*a*), and the unending discussion as to whether Guido painted his famous signed Madonna in 1221 or 1281 (1), have prevented both sides from arriving at a satisfactory conclusion. To many the much-vexed question continues to be of absorbing interest; to others, however, it has lost much of its earlier importance, at least so far as it concerns the formation of the two great schools in question. Whatever may have been the relation

(*a*) [We cannot share the opinion of the authoress and of so many other modern writers as to the presumed vagueness of Cimabue's artistic personality. That Cimabue was in reality the author of the extraordinary frescoes in the apse and transepts of the Upper Church of San Francesco at Assisi, as well as of certain other existing works, there is no real reason to doubt. These paintings are in themselves sufficient to give us a very clear idea of the master's personal style and to accord him a fixed position in the history of Italian art.]

(1) There are critical reasons for accepting the latter date. [Regarding this question, see *postea*.]

of Cimabue and of Guido to their contemporaries, neither can be said to have had any direct connection with the formation of a lasting school of art. Even granting that Cimabue may be entitled to all the merit that has been conferred upon him as a regenerator, it is certainly to Giotto that the credit of having founded the school of Florence, as we know it, is rightly due (a). The position of *Guido da Siena* is scarcely dissimilar to that of Cimabue (b) and it is sufficient praise to allow that among the various painters who in his day continued in the traditional and narrow methods of the Italo-Byzantine craftsmen, he was prominent for the superior quality of his work

(a) [This is certainly true. Great and potent as was, in point of fact, the artistic personality of Cimabue, that master must be classed as but a member of that great school of Thirteenth-Century artists whose grand and noble style was wholly superseded by the more purely realistic one of Giotto and of certain of his early contemporaries.]

(b) [What the authoress here says of Cimabue—*i. e.* that he was more representative of a group than of a single personality—is far more adapted to the case of Guido than it is to that of the great Florentine master, whose individuality was, in reality, as great as his art. Modern criticism has attached Guido's name to a group of pictures which, while belonging to a common period and school and betraying close stylistic relations to each other, are certainly not all by the same hand. Unfortunately, the only signed panel by Guido—the altar-piece now in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena—is so completely repainted in its principal parts, as to give us but a partial idea of its original character. Regarding this and other paintings attributable to this master, see *postea*.]

and for a return to better models. Far rather than Guido, the real founder of the Sienese school was *Duccio di Buoninsegna* (active 1278-1319). Although we know nothing of his early life, his style is so purely Byzantine as to lead us to suppose that he acquired his early training from some unusually fine Byzantine master, possibly at Constantinople itself (a). The work produced by his Italian predecessors and most of his contemporaries appears rough and uncouth when compared with his compositions, glowing with colour and almost faultless in execution. Uninfluenced by the new methods of Giotto, he was equally independent of the Pisani, notwithstanding the fact that they were working in his very town, and he remained all his life true to the Byzantine style. Adopting the same types that had been in use for centuries, he imbued them with a life and beauty all his own, clothing them in colours so rich and varied that his panels produce something of the effect of sumptuous mosaics. His compositions surpassed those of his contem-

(a) [This is an opinion shared with certain other critics (*cf.* Berenson, *Central Italian Painters*). We cannot admit of the probability that Duccio ever really studied at Constantinople. His early training was doubtless achieved under the so-called "Italo-Byzantine" painters of his native Tuscany and gradually refined by his own remarkable genius and by the study of purer Byzantine models. Such models, most probably in the shape of miniature paintings, were easily within his reach in various parts of Italy, without entailing any distant pilgrimage to Byzantium itself.]

poraries not only in the balance of their parts, but also because of his power to create effects of space and even of distance. In his "feeling for line" he displayed a characteristic which became one of the most marked and important features of the school of Sienese painting. With little of the power of generalization with which Giotto was endowed, he depicted his subjects, on the other hand with an expressiveness which places him at once in the ranks of the greatest Illustrators of the world.

Such painting as Duccio's so appealed to the colour-loving Sienese, and his story-telling faculties so satisfied their not over-critical intellectual demands, that the artists who followed were quite overpowered by the example he had set them (*a*). As was the case with Duccio himself, so it was, in a lesser degree, with the entire school. The naturalistic influences of Giotto and the Pisani could obtain but little hold on a people for whom there existed so entirely sympathetic a style, and are apparent only to a slight degree

(*a*) [The above sentence is some what unfortunately worded and would almost lead the reader to infer that the example of Duccio's art was imposed upon his successors by an undiscerning public. This was in no way the case. The highly decorative ideal embodied by Duccio in his work was doubtless instinctive in all Siena's painters, as well as in her people—in marked contrast with the more purely naturalistic, and at times almost essentially scientific, tendencies of the artists and public of Florence.]

in the work of the greatest of Duccio's pupils, *Simone Martini* (1285?-1344). Having freed himself from many of the more purely Byzantine elements of his master's style (1), Simone became even more graceful of line, more gay of colour, less stern and hieratic of type. In his painting a new element appears—a greater love of life and a more subtle depicting of its joys and passions. But to him it was the brighter side of existence that most appealed—its darker tragedies repelled rather than attracted him, and his paintings are peopled almost invariably with the most serene and unruffled of saintly beings. Simone's love of resplendent colour, and that passion for curving and flowing line which makes of his compositions such marvellous and unrivalled patterns, led him to pay far more attention to decorative effect than to the equally important problems of movement and of form (a). Yet he

(1) *Segna di Bonaventura* and *Ugolino*, Duccio's closest pupils, retained throughout their career the more strictly Byzantine spirit of his work. [Segna and Ugolino were by no means the only direct continuators of Duccio's style. That master left behind him a numerous group of imitators whose different artistic personalities are only gradually becoming defined.]

(a) [In her frequent comparison of Siena's painters with those of Florence, in connection with their respective degrees of command over problems of form and movement, the authoress seems to share an obsession still common to writers upon art. Although we cannot here enter upon a discussion of the essential character of Siennese painting, as distinguished from that of other schools, we cannot resist the temp-

was not lacking in the possession of either of these last-named qualities, as the exquisite Annunciation at Florence, and the wonderful frescoes of the Life of St. Martin, at Assisi, respectively attest. Although Duccio was the founder of his school, Simone was, far rather than he, the first of truly Sienese masters—masters who, in later generations, continued to repeat, each according to his ability and nature, what Simone first had said (a).

Lippo Memmi (active ca. 1315-1250 ?), the assistant, partner, and brother-in-law, of Simone, was also one of his closest imitators and the head of a numerous group of later painters.

tation to protest against the wholly gratuitous nature of the above-mentioned comparisons. With their markedly different ideals, the painters of Siena seldom, if ever, became interested in problems of movement and form, as did the Florentines, for their own sake. They were interested in them only in so far as they were necessary to an adequate expression of their artistic, and at times essentially decorative, aims. Nevertheless, how admirably they were able to express themselves in both these fields, when called upon to do so, cannot fail to be evident to any save to blindly prejudiced eyes. In the works of the Lorenzetti, more especially, we find effects of form and action which are quite as perfectly, and far more subtly, realized, than is the case in those of any of these masters' Florentine contemporaries.]

(a) [This is not wholly true. Although Simone may perhaps rightly be considered as the most typically representative of Siena's painters, Pietro Lorenzetti certainly shares with him the honour of being the "first of truly Sienese masters". Pietro's influence (and that of his brother Ambrogio) was, moreover, not less strongly felt by the later artists of Siena than was that of Simone.]

Without Simone's originality and power, he nevertheless produced many attractive works, some of which closely approach those of his model in technical excellence. Of his work in Siena but a single representative example remains to us—the charming “*Madonna del Popolo*” in the church of the Servi. To know Lippo at his best, one must go to San Gimignano and to Orvieto. The Palazzo del Podestà of the former town contains his master-piece—a large fresco of the Madonna, Child, Angels and Saints (1317), inspired by Simone's great painting of the same subject in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena; the Cathedral at Orvieto possesses one of his most important panel-pictures—the Virgin of Mercy in the Cappella del SS. Caporale (1).

Pietro Lorenzetti (active 1305-1348), Simone's follower (a), and *Ambrogio Lorenzetti* (active 1323-

(1) Simone and Lippo were both miniature painters. A possible example of the former's work is an illustration in a manuscript Virgil, now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. Another miniaturist of the same period, and one of the utmost delicacy, was *Niccolò di Ser Sozzo Tegliacci*. A beautiful Assumption of the Virgin, by his hand, is to be found on the first page of the *Caleffo dell' Assunta*, in the Sienese Archives.

(a) [The authoress here shares the opinion held by others at the time, *i. e.* that Pietro was a disciple of Simone, whereas, as we have long contended, he was almost certainly a pupil either of Duccio himself or of some one of that master's earlier and closer followers, such as Ugolino. He was, furthermore, in all probability, Simone's equal in age, if not his senior.]

1348), his younger brother and pupil, each felt more keenly the influences of Giovanni Pisano and Giotto (*a*). Their style combines something of these great masters' sense of plastic values with the intensity of feeling and decorative grace so characteristic of the Sienese. Both possessing a passionate love for beauty, Pietro's types are more stern than those of Ambrogio. He returned rather to the models of Duccio than to those of Simone (*b*) The painting of both brothers can be fairly well studied in Siena especially that of Ambrogio, the greater genius of the two (*c*). To know the

(*a*) [Here, again, we find ourselves in disagreement with the writer, and with most other critics, as to the supposed influence of Giotto upon the Lorenzetti, neither of whom was, to any visible extent, affected by the Florentine master, although both doubtless worked in Florence during Giotto's own life-time (Ambrogio's presence in that city is testified by documents as well as by paintings). On the other hand, the influence of the two Sienese artists—especially that of Ambrogio -- on the painting of Florence, was a powerful one throughout the XIV Century. As to the influence of Giovanni Pisano upon Pietro -- first noted by Cavalcaselle — there can be no question. Both masters were, moreover, so far as we may assume from their works, singularly alike in character and temperament.]

(*b*) [We have here an unconscious admission of Pietro's real artistic descent.]

(*c*) [Ambrogio's artistic superiority over his brother is a point urged by most modern critics, and one with which we cannot wholly agree. Whereas Ambrogio may rightly be said to have possessed a broader and more balanced style, a grander sense of composition and design, Pietro certainly reveals a deeper and more passionate nature, a greater spiritual fervour, as well as an ideal of beauty which though spasmodic and uneven in its manifestations, is, in its more inspired moments, second to that of no other artist of his own or of any other time.]

finest of Pietro's works one must go to Arezzo, or to Assisi, where he painted that most exquisite fresco of the Madonna with her Babe between SS. Francis and Louis (a). It is in Assisi, also, that Pietro is seen at his worst, in the Scenes from the Passion—frescoes wherein all significant and lasting artistic qualities are subordinated to the expression of exaggerated emotion (b). This falling away from the high ideals of much of his painting is paralled in some of the works of his brother. Commissioned to paint for the Sienese Commune the stories of Good and Bad Government, Ambrogio, instead of concisely presenting, as would have Giotto (c), the essential idea of his

(a) [Pietro's Virgin in the central panel of his great polyptych in the Pieve at Arezzo can safely be cited as the most noble and impressive representation of the Madonna that Italian Trecento painting has to shew us. And yet this beautiful creation remains, even at the present day, one of the least-known and least-appreciated of the master's works.]

(b) [Like certain other critics who have expended their energies in condemning these Assisan frescoes on the score of their violent emotional character, the authoress has failed to note other qualities for which they are no less remarkable. Although evidently inspired by Duccio's treatment of the same subjects, Pietro reveals in certain of these scenes—for instance, in those of the Deposition and the Entombment—a power of imaginative design and a depth of tragic sentiment as impressive as they are sincere. Some of the other numbers of the series, it is true, are far from shewing a similar power, and reveal not a few indications of being, in part at least, the work of an assistant.]

(c) [According to Ghiberti, Giotto did actually paint an allegory of Bad Government in the Palazzo del Podestà at Florence. Unfortunately, no traces of his fresco have

subject in a few unmistakable allegorical figures, covered vast wall-spaces with endless incident, complete in every detail, employing as a final explanatory touch the use of inscriptions (*a*). Considering Ambrogio's immense gifts, it is the more to be regretted that he ever became a mere retailer of facts. What this great artist was really capable of when not carried away by the Sienese passion for Illustration, is well shown by such panels as that of the Annunciation in the Sienese Academy, and of the Virgin and Child in the Seminario Chapel of S. Francesco, not to mention other examples of his genius (*b*).

survived and we are, in consequence, unable to enjoy what would doubtless have been a deeply interesting comparison with Ambrogio's treatment of the same subject.]

(*a*) [The use of inscriptions was common at this period not only to the Sienese, but to the Florentine and to all other schools of painting, and was, no doubt, insisted upon by those responsible for the commissioning of the frescoes. So, again, in regard to the treatment of the subject-matter itself, when the themes were of an abstract and political nature, as was here the case, the painter was frequently forced to follow, more or less exactly, the literary conceptions of his employers, even when their demands were at variance with his own artistic judgment. How perfectly Ambrogio could treat a theme when unhampered by restrictions, many be seen in such a fresco as that depicting St. Louis before the Pope, in the church of S. Francesco—a composition in no way inferior to any of Giotto's in significance of presentation, and far surpassing that master's work in its expressive qualities and its admirable rendering of space.]

(*b*) [As, for instance, the fine altar-piece at Massa Marittima—the most important panel-painting which we possess by the master's hand.]

Doubtless the greatest of the Lorenzetti's followers was the nameless artist who painted the frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa, until recently attributed to Orcagna and to Pietro himself. The Last Judgment, the Triumph of Death, and the Thebaïd, are all by the same hand, and are painted by one who not only possessed, in no small degree, the power to portray both form and movement, but also to clothe his mediæval thought in most realistic garments (a).

After the Lorenzetti came the fall. Never again did the Sienese artists quite attain to the greatness of the early school. *Barna* (flourishing in 1370) (b), a follower of Simone and of Lippo Memmi; *Bartolo di Fredi* (active 1353-dead 1410); *Andrea Vanni* (1832-1414); *Luca di Tommè* (active 1355-1389); *Paolo di Giovanni Fei* (active 1372-1410), who grew out of Simone and the Lorenzetti;

(a) [Although apparently revealing a distant connection with the art the influence of Pietro Lorenzetti—to whom they have been directly attributed by more than one critic—these coarse but powerful works cannot rightly be classed as productions of the Sienese school. They are, in all probability, the work of a native Pisan artist—if not by Francesco Traini himself, by one who shared, to a singular degree, many of that painter's unmistakable characteristics—and clearly reveal other beside Sienese influences.]

(b) [*Barna*—certainly the most powerful and gifted of all the Sienese painters of the second half of the XIV. Century—can be properly studied only in his frescoes at San Gimignano. Of his rare panel-paintings, his native city unfortunately contains no genuine example, but one representing the Madonna and Child, generally cited as the work of Lippo Memmi, is still to be seen in the church of S. Francesco at Asciano.]

carried on its traditions, and saved it from falling into absolute decadence. They were able artists, each in his way, and not altogether lacking in originality (a). *Taddeo di Bartolo* (about 1362-1422), a pupil of Bartolo di Fredi, is important not only for the high general level of his work but also for the number of his pupils. His painting, now Gothic and now unconsciously Renaissance in sentiment, shows a natural feeling for structural significance and, to a lesser extent, for movement. At the time in which he flourished there were but few artists of note in the field, which may account, in part at least, for his having been called to so many cities of Italy. He painted in Genoa, in Pisa, in Volterra, in San Gimignano, in Montepulciano, and in Perugia (1). His influence was widespread, and by no means confined to the painters of his own town.

(a) [The Sienese painting of the later Trecento has been more carefully studied of recent years and the work of the above-mentioned artists, together with that of painters such as Naddo Ceccarelli, Lippo Vanni, Andrea di Bartolo, Luca di Tommè, Paolo di Giovanni Fei, Niccolò di Buonaccorso, has rightly met with a more favourable judgment than was formerly accorded it. Apart from all futile comparison with that of their great predecessors, the art of these so-called "minor masters" is unquestionably possessed of remarkable decorative and aesthetic qualities, and, in the case of Barna, of a vigour and a dramatic spirit which raise him far above the level of his contemporaries and which win for him an unique place among the artists of his time.]

(1) Both in Montepulciano and in Perugia some of his most important works yet remain.

Stefano di Giovanni, called *Sassetta* — the most gifted Sienese painter of his time — was born in 1392 and died in 1450. His precise artistic education is still an unsolved and interesting problem, but he was in all probability a pupil of Paolo di Giovanni Fei. In spirit and style, however, he returned rather to his earlier predecessors. Little of his work can be seen in Siena itself, but one of his most important pictures is preserved in the convent of the Osservanza, a short distance from the town. Other altar-pieces by his hand are to be seen at Asciano, in the hill-town of Chiusdino, and at Cortona.

Among the painters who came under Taddeo's influence, the most important was *Domenico di Bartolo* (1405-1449?). Domenico was one of the few Sienese who tried to keep abreast of their Florentine contemporaries, but failing to comprehend the essential spirit of their ideals, his success was of the slightest. His frescoes in the Spedale di Sta. Maria della Scala, although full of detailed interest, remain but the records, pleasing it is true, of a number of events in the history of the hospital. Like all his countrymen, he was more at home when painting purely religious subjects (*a*), as can be seen in his fine

(*a*) [What Domenico was really capable of in the field of religious painting, is evident in his Madonna in the church of S. Raimondo at Siena—certainly one of the most beautiful and deeply spiritual creations of its time.]

polyptych at Asciano (*a*) and in the large altarpiece at Perugia.

The influence of Sassetta is clearly discernible in the work of *Giovanni di Paolo* (1403?-1482), which is as easy to analyze as that of his master is difficult (*b*). Often harsh in types and exaggerated in expression, he nevertheless was able to produce such charming work as the Virgin in glory in the Saracini Palace, the quaintly delightful "Paradise" and characteristic Madonna in a Landscape of the Sienese Gallery, and the equally attractive Virgin and Child in the Via delle Terme (*1*).

(*a*) [This polyptych, long accepted by almost all critics alike as a representative work of Domenico, is, in reality, an early production of his gifted follower Matteo di Giovanni.]

(*b*) [Giovanni was not only one of the closest of Sassetta's followers, but also one of the most extraordinary personalities of the Sienese school of painting. Gifted with a keen decorative sense and a peculiarly vivid imagination, united to a technical fineness at times rivalling that of his master, he often produced work of singular charm, and even—as, for instance, in the case of the wonderful *predelle* until recently in the Aynard Collection at Lyons (see *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1907, pag. 82)—of deep spirituality of content. His paintings are, however, somewhat uneven in quality and character, and his style, in its later developments, although never losing its freshness and originality, lapses at times into a certain coarseness and exaggeration. As a colourist, Giovanni reveals himself, throughout his career, as a painter of peculiar refinement.]

(*1*) As a miniaturist, Giovanni's work is particularly interesting. Several of the artists of the 15th Century practised this minor branch of painting. Sano di Pietro was one of the most efficient. Specimens of his work, as well as of that of Pellegrino di Mariano and of Guidoccio Cozzarelli, are to be found among the choir-books preserved

Pietro di Giovanni (active ca. 1425-1455?), *Pellegrino di Mariano* (active ca. 1445-1490?) and *Sano di Pietro* (1406-1481), were also close pupils of Sassetta. Far from being "a dulled and heavy echo of Fra Angelico" (1), Sano is one of the most charming and winsome of artists; his round-eyed Madonnas and angels are the very embodiment of quiet religious sentiment. His colour is sometimes brilliant, but always clear and light in tone; and he clothes his beings in undulating draperies that remind us somewhat of Gentile da Fabriano and of Lorenzo Monaco. His work is always most attractively decorative in quality.

The most important of Sassetta's followers was *Lorenzo di Pietro*, generally known as *Vecchietta* (1412-1480). Already mentioned as having fallen as a sculptor under the influence of Donatello, Lorenzo appears likewise in his painting to have been inspired by many of the new tendencies of the Florentine Renaissance. This influence was most powerfully felt toward the end of his life, when he painted the large, and unfortunately ruined, altar-panel for the Spedale della Scala, now in the Academy. His earlier work, the best of which is to be found is some ruined frescoes in the same Hospital (*Deposito delle Donne*), shows him as an artist possessed of fine ideas of

in the Libreria of the Sienese Cathedral.

(1) *Siena, Its Architecture and Art*, by Gilbert Hastings.

composition, and a love of soft and delicate colouring. Nevertheless, in much of this early work—as, for instance, in the paintigns of the reliquary-press in the Academy—his figures tend to excessive dryness of form and to abnormal proportions. A somewhat later picture is the admirable triptych in the Duomo at Pienza, which combines the new feeling with all the old Sienese love of gorgeous surface and decorative effect.

The traditional and tenaciously beloved technique and sentiment of the Sienese school were thus gradually infused with a new life, which resulted in the production of some of the most charming painting the world has ever known. Out of Vecchietta came *Francesco di Giorgio* (1439-1502), *Neroccio di Landi* (1447-1500), and *Benvenuto di Giovanni* (1436-1518?). The two former worked together for a space, and for the unpractised eye it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between them, although Francesco's types are in reality quite characteristic. *Neroccio*, was however, the greater artist of the two—indeed he may justly be called one of the greatest Sienese masters of the 15th Century. We have already mentioned his creations as a sculptor; in regard to his work as a painter we cannot do better than to quote Mr. Berenson's words: . . . "he was Simone come to life again. Simone's endlessly refined feeling for beauty, Simone's charm and grace—you lose but little of them in

Neroccio's panels, and you get what to most of us counts more, ideals and emotions more akin to our own, with quicker suggestions of freshness and joy " (1). Neroccio may be studied best in the gallery at Siena, in two large altar-pieces and in a number of typical Madonna pictures. Of *Francesco di Giorgio's* paintings, which influenced to no small extent those of his contemporaries, there is one panel which deserves a special mention, embodying as it does much of the classical feeling so essentially a part of his nature—the Adoration of the Shepherds in the church of S. Domenico. Another important work by his hand is the large altar-piece of the Coronation of the Virgin in the Sienese Gallery. *Benvenuto di Giovanni*, although living well into the 16th Century, retained not only the brilliant colouring of his ancestors, but continued to finish his pictures with such care that the surfaces appear almost to be of enamel. The sentiment of much of his work, however, falls below that of Matteo or Neroccio (a).

(1) *The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance.*

(a) [Benvenuto merits a higher place among the artists of his time than has yet been accorded him. In many of his works and especially in such a one as the magnificent polyptych from Montepertuso now in the Sienese Gallery, N. 436, he shows himself a master gifted with uncommon decorative ideals. By his hand, again, and not by Gentile da Fabriano, to whom it is fondly ascribed, is the fine altar-piece of the Adoration of the Magi, until recently in the Abdy Collection at Dorking (England)—certainly one of the most important Sienese panel-paintings of its period.]

Sometimes a painter of idyllic charm—as in his panel of the Annunciation at Volterra (*a*),—he became in later years one of great austerity and keen realistic perceptions. Indeed, his peculiar development is a unique feature in Siena's artistic history. His son, *Girolamo di Benvenuto* (1470-1524), hardly equalled him in merit, although his earlier work is sometimes confounded with that of his father (*b*).

Domenico di Bartolo's great pupil was *Matteo di Giovanni* (about 1435-1495), who, had he received a different artistic education, might have succeeded in portraying movement and form fully as well as did his Florentine contemporaries (*c*). A native of Borgo San Sepolcro, Matteo seems to have gone to Siena as a boy. Sienese in all

(*a*) [Another later and very beautiful picture of this same subject, by Benvenuto, is in the Franciscan monastery of San Bernardino at Sinalunga (see L. Olcott, in *Rassegna d'Arte*), May, 1906.]

(*b*) [No such confusion is possible in respect to this painter's later work, which is remarkably eclectic in character. Girolamo's finest painting is a little known altar-piece of the Annunciation—still showing the strong influence of his father—in the church of SS. Pietro e Paolo at Buonconvento.]

(*c*) [Again, this qualifying clause seems hardly called for. Matteo's ability in the portraying of form was amply sufficient for his requirements, while his command over movement is, in certain of his works, by no means inferior to that of most of his Florentine contemporaries. Note, for instance, the surprising Flagellation in the lunette of his altar-piece in the Duomo at Pienza, and certain details in the border of his Massacre of the Innocents in the Pavement of the Duomo at Siena.]

his instincts, in his love of brilliant and rich colouring, in his appreciation of the linear qualities of a composition, he was, in his adopted city, one of the leading artists of his day. Nothing could be lovelier than his Santa Barbara altar-piece in S. Domenico—nothing could be more grotesque, and at the same time more splendid in colour and design, than his Massacre of the Innocents in Sant' Agostino. His greatest work—the Assumption of the Virgin, now in the National Gallery at London—takes its place among the masterpieces of Sienese art (a). His various Madonna pictures generally show him in his most attractive phase (b). *Guidoccio Cozzarelli* (1) followed very closely in Matteo's footsteps, but, although at times a pleasing painter, was far inferior to his master.

With such names as *Pietro di Domenico* (c)

(a) [Another less known but equally important altar-piece, with this same subject, painted by the master in 1487, but long popularly held to be a work of Piero de' Franceschi, is in the church of S. Maria de' Servi, in Matteo's native town of Borgo San Sepolcro.]

(b) [Of these Madonna-pictures, one of the most fascinating is to be seen in the little church of Percena, near Buonconvento published for the first time by the authoress herself in *Rassegna d'Arte*, May, 1904.]

(1) Not to be confused with Giacomo Cozzarelli, the architect and sculptor.

(c) [Pietro di Domenico is as yet but little known, nor do the panels by his hand remaining in his native town give a full idea of his art. His most important paintings are two large altar-pieces of the Assumption of the Virgin—one (an admirable work and in many ways his masterpiece) in the collegiate church at Radicondoli, the other in the chapel of the Misericordia at Buonconvento. A

(1457-1501), *Andrea di Niccolò* (1460-1529), *Bernardino Fungai* (1460-1516), and *Giacomo Pacchiarotti* (1477-1540), although of different generations, we close the list of more truly Siennese painters. Fungai was a pupil of Giovanni di Paolo, but his painting owes, in his later years, no slight debt to the Umbrians. His chalky colour and lack of modelling are not redeemed by any great appreciation of beauty, although many of his individual heads possess considerable charm (a). Pacchiarotti, a pleasing pupil of Fungai, and in his early days influenced by Matteo and Francesco di Giorgio, remained more truly Siennese than did his contemporaries, *Matteo Balducci* (active first half of 16th century) (b) and *Girolamo del Pacchia* (1277-1535). Both followers of Fungai, the former was carried off his feet by (c) Pintoric-

charming Madonna picture by his hand is in the Blumenthal Collection in New York; another is in the Perkins Collection at Sassoforte (Lastra-a-Signa). These works give a considerably more favourable impression of their author than do those at Siena.]

(a) [This painter's finest panels are in the possession of the Palmieri-Nuti family at Siena and of Mr. Perkins at Lastra-a-Signa. An early work of the master clearly shewing his artistic descent from Matteo di Giovanni, is in the parish church of Buonconvento.]

(b) [The artistic personality of this minor painter is still somewhat vague. He is quite evidently not the author of several of the works ascribed to him by certain modern critics].

(c) [Notwithstanding his later eclecticism, Girolamo del Pacchia is a painter of considerable individuality and power. He is to be seen at his best in such early works

chio, to whom he acted as assistant, while the latter—an artist of much greater powers—ended by borrowing promiscuously from many of the fashionable painters of his day. The influence of Sodoma was now predominant, and the Cinquecento artists of Siena became purely eclectic, borrowing not only from the Perugian, but from the Florentine, Roman, and even from the Lombard, schools.

When Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius III, decided to decorate his new Libreria in the Cathedral, he found the rather archaistic Sienese painters but little to his taste, and so called upon the Umbrian *Pinturicchio* to fulfil the task. Pandolfo Petrucci followed the cardinal's example, employing to decorate his palace not only the above-mentioned artist, but *Signorelli*, and his pupil *Genga*, as well. In 1501, a young Lombard follower of Leonardo da Vinci, Gianantonio Bazzi, called "*Il Sodoma*", was induced by agents of the Spannocchi, a wealthy family of bankers, to come to Siena and settle there. The presence of these various foreign elements

as the Ascension in the Carmine and the Coronation in S. Spirito at Siena, but his later paintings are often worthy of remark. A fine Madonna-picture by his hand is in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence; another very pleasing Madonna, wrongly ascribed to Sodoma, is in the possession of Mrs. J. P. Richter of London. One of the most ambitious of the artist's later works is a large painting of the Deposition in the Collegiate Church at Sinalunga.]

offered not only on opportunity to study the newer Renaissance methods, but stimulated in the younger of the Sienese artists a desire to draw and paint after the fashion of their more famous contemporaries. The ragged ends of the Sienese school, thus gathered together, resulted in the eclecticism already mentioned, very delightful at times, but retaining only the merest shreds of the ancient Sienese ideals.

The painter who exercised by far the greatest influence over this class of workmen was *Sodoma* (1477-1549)—that most over-rated of all artists. Incomprehensible as it may seem, the work of few painters has received such extravagant praise, and that from the majority of otherwise intelligent critics. Highly endowed by Nature, Bazzi so wasted his talents that his compositions, almost invariably careless to a degree, are, more often than not, absolutely lacking in that dignity of feeling which is always present in the work of a truly great artist. The highest praise that can be bestowed on his unsatisfactory productions is that they are “Leonardo watered down”. His facility of execution, his “sweetness long drawn out”, his exaggerated sentimentality, his effective though often crude and inharmonious colour, and the constant repetition of his soft and effeminate types, could not fail, however, to obtain for his productions the wide-spread popularity which the possession of such qualities

invariably brings (a). But as no man's work can be entirely condemned, so does that of Sodoma appear of a better quality in such paintings as the Marriage of Roxana and Alexander, in the Villa Farnesina at Rome, and the Ecstasy of S. Catherine in S. Domenico at Siena. His Portrait of a Lady, in the Städelsche Institute at Frankfurt, also bears witness to his great possibilities as an artist. Had Bazzi continued to produce such works as these, and such work as a part, at least, of the famous fresco of St. Catherine, in S. Domenico, the world might have been the richer by another truly great painter.

To return to some of his contemporaries (b). *Domenico Beccafumi* (1485 - 1551)—as unjustly

(a) [The above lines constituted, at the time they were written, the first open attack upon Sodoma's extraordinary modern fame. They at once became, needless to say, the object of indignant expostulation on the part of various reviewers and members of the numerous Bazzi cult. Fifteen years have done much, however, to prove their essential justice. More than one writer of distinction has since virtually repeated the criticism which they contain, and, although the Lombard painter still counts many blindly enthusiastic devotees, there can be no doubt that he is now appreciated, by most thinking students, at something more nearly approaching his just valuation.]

(b) [The closest of Sodoma's direct followers were *Girolamo Magnani*, generally known as *Giomo del Sodoma*—a poor artist (1507-1562)—and *Bartolommeo Neroni* (active ca. 1534-1572), who is better known as an architect and designer of wood-carvings than as a painter. Bartolommeo's style, like that of Magagni, is a close imitation of that of his master, in his case tempered, however, by a certain energy not unmixed with coarseness.]

condemned as Sodoma is praised— was originally a pupil of Pacchiarotto. He was later influenced by Sodoma to some extent, although much of his inspiration was undoubtedly derived from the works of Fra Bartolommeo, as is most apparent in the panel in the Academy—St. Catherine receiving the Stigmata (*b*). Despite these outward influences, however, Beccafumi was a distinctly gifted and original artist, whose work, even in its weakest moments, is never devoid of a certain energy and strength that we may look for in vain in most of the productions of his life-long rival, Bazzi. *Baldassarre Peruzzi*, already spoken of as one of the most renowned of Renaissance architects, was also a painter of some importance. Probably a pupil of Pacchiarotto, he afterwards assisted Pintoricchio in Siena and at Rome, where his frescoes in Sant' Onofrio clearly reveal his debt to that master's style. Other of his works

(*b*) [There can be no question as to the originality of Beccafumi's genius. As the authoress has rightly remarked, his fame has suffered not a little through the popular worship of Sodoma, but Beccafumi far surpassed his rival both in grandeur and in imaginativs power. As a technician his work is, moreover, of peculiar interest, especially in its daring treatment of light and shade. It is in dealing with such problems of *chiaroscuro* that he has produced some of his most important works, such as the St. Michael of the Carmine, the Nativity in S. Martino at Siena, and the admirable Annunciation in the church of S. Martino at Sarteano—this last perhaps the finest, as it certainly is the least known, of all his larger paintings. As a colourist, again, Domenico is infinitely Sodoma's superior.]

in Rome show the influence of Sodoma, and again, that of Raphael (1); his later painting, of which there are examples in Siena, bears the stamp of the academic Roman school, and is of little comparative interest. With *Andrea del Brescianino* (active 1507-after 1525), we close this brief notice of Sienese Painting. An eclectic *par excellence*, his style is a happy mingling of many elements, the predominating notes of which are Florentine and Raphaelesque (2).

Faint indeed, in the work of these later men, is the echo of Siena's artistic traditions. Yet a certain delicacy still remains—if no longer that of Simone, at least the semblance of what it was. The lovely quality of Sienese work-

(1) A good picture from his hand which is in the Borghese Gallery—Venus leaving her Bath—is highly interesting for its strong classic feeling. Perhaps the best, and at the same time the most characteristic, of his works are to be found in the Villa Farnesina, Rome. For a criticism of Peruzzi as a painter, see Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni's essay in his *Arte Italiana nel Rinascimento*.

(2) An interesting essay by Mr. Berenson, entitled "The British Museum 'Raphael' Cartoon", is concerned with this artist's work. It has recently been republished in the second volume of that writer's *Study and Criticism of Italian Art*, London, George Bell and Sons, 1902. [A panel-painting by the master, based on this cartoon, is in the possession of the Ugurgieri family at Siena. Other good examples of Brescianino's weak but pleasing talent are the large and extraordinarily well-composed altar-piece of the Virgin, Child and Saints, until recently in the Sienese Gallery—now at Florence—and a Madonna-picture at Bibbiano, near Buonconvento (see L. Olcott, in *Rassegna d'Arte*, May, 1904).]

manship is the one heritage left, the one attribute which never deserted her artists. Whether erecting their tower to rise like a great stone lily above their beloved city; whether carving the statues for their marble fountain; whether painting the rush of the Announcing Angel—all was done with a love and an exquisite grace which was never entirely lost in later days and which must ever endear the Art of Siena to those who seek what is beautiful (a).

(a) [The authoress has purposely refrained, both here and in the following chapters, from a notice of the later painters of Siena, a detailed review of whose innumerable works would have enlarged this Guide far beyond its projected scope and limits. Siena's painting, during the later Cinquecento and the beginning of the following century, while preserving a certain local character of its own, was nevertheless open to all those cross-currents of influence and stylistic ideals that disturbed the art of so many other districts of Italy during this same period, and, in consequence, while occasionally giving birth to works not wholly devoid of individuality and charm, produced, on the other hand, much that was empty, academic, and even meretricious. A mere mention of the painters of these later times must here suffice for those who may care to study them further in the many works by which they are represented in the churches and galleries of Siena. The virtual head of this later eclectic school was *Arcangelo de' Pierantoni* or, as he was more often called, *de' Salimbeni* (active 1565-1680), who is said to have studied under Federico Zuccheri at Rome. His pupils, *Alessandro Casolani* (1552-1560) and *Pietro Sorri* (1556-1622), likewise studied, to a considerable extent, abroad, the former under Roncalli, the latter under Domenico Passignani. His son *Ventura Salimbeni* (1557-1613), and his step-son *Francesco Vanni* (1565-1109), were, together with *Rutilio Manetti* (1571-1637), the ablest and most gifted of the Siennese painters of this period. The two first-named were strongly influenced by the work of Correg-

gio and, more directly, by Federico Barocci, and show— especially in Francesco's case— much of the latter master's grace of colour and expression. Manetti, although hardly lesse eclectic in the formation of is style, reveals a stronger personality and a more marked manner than any of his predecessors. His paintings are notable not only for their powerful colour but also for their effective *chiaroscuro*, and for a certain largeness of design which gives them a character of their own. *Francesco Rustici*, know as *Rustichino*; *Sebastiano Folli*; *Ilario Casolani* (son of Alessandro); *Raffaello Vanni* (son of Francesco); and *Astolfo Petrazzi*, continued to uphold the reputation of their scool well into the middle of the *Seicento*. None of these, however, show any particularly remarkable talents, and their combined efforts were not sufficient to save the later painting of Siena from a rapid decline. The only name worthy of mention during the baroque period which followed, is that of *Giuseppe Nasini* (1664 - 1736)— a facile and brilliant decorator who won a considerable reputation in his day.]

THE MINOR ARTS

Along with the Architects, Sculptors and Painters of Siena, there flourished a large number of cunning craftsmen who worked in precious metals and in painted glass, who were potters, carvers and inlayers of wood, and dexterous workers in *commesso in marmo* or the inlaying of marble.

As early as the 13th Century the Sienese goldsmiths were famous (a); they made crowns for royal heads, costly vessels to be used in churches, not to mention humbler utensils for the everyday demands of private life. Several of their names are known to us, but a mention of one or two of them must here suffice. *Lando di Pietro*, already spoken of as a great architect, began his career as a goldsmith, and it was he who was

(a) [*Petrone* and *Meli*, son of *Maccone aurifaber*, are the earliest Sienese goldsmiths known to us by name (mentioned respectively in records of 806 and 1087). In 1265 *Pacino di Valentino* was working in Pistoia. *Filipuccio*, the grandfather of *Lippo Memmi* the painter, is mentioned some years later. In 1307 we find the name of *Toro*, and in 1320, among the craftsmen engaged by the Papal court at Avignon, that of *Tommaso da Siena*. In 1311, *Andrea di Jacopo* was working in S. Gimignano.]

chosen to make for the Emperor Henry VII the crown used at his coronation. By him, also, in all probability, is the beautiful reliquary in the church of S. Galgano in Siena. The most famous of Siena's gold-workers was *Ugolino di Vieri* (active 1329-1386) — he who fashioned the splendid tabernacle which is still to be seen in the Cathedral of Orvieto (commissioned 1317), as well as the reliquary of San Savino belonging to the church of S. Giovenale in that city (this latter work executed in collaboration with *Viva di Lando*, *Giovanni di Bartolo* (recorded 1367-1418) was another craftsman celebrated in his day, although most of his work appears to have been accomplished away from his native home, at the Papal Court and elsewhere. The *Turini* family (working during the first half of the 15th century) have already been mentioned as sculptors and bronze-casters (1). They and their contemporaries, among whom may be mentioned *Tommaso di Vanino* and *Goro di Neroccio*, executed many statues of gold, silver and bronze for chapels and shrines, sometimes adding colour to their work by the use of bright enamels. A small quantity only of this extensive output still remains intact. Of the goldsmiths active in the second half of the *Quattrocento*, one of the best-known appears to have been *Francesco d'Antonio* (recorded 1440-1477),

(1) See pages 170-171 *supra*.

by whom we have two reliquaries, in the Duomo and in the Osservanza.

Among the best workers in stained glass, at the end of the 14th Century, was *Giacomo di Castello*, who designed several windows for the Duomo of Siena, as well as a window in S. Francesco at Pisa, and one in a chapel of Sta. Croce at Florence (a). During the following century, a large number of painted windows were executed in Siena for the Duomo, the Palazzo Pubblico and the Hospital, the majority of which have long since been destroyed (b). *Pastorino Pastorini*, a fine medallist as well as a maker of painted glass, was the last of such artists in Siena (c). There is a good example of his glass work in the Duomo. To see what he accomplished as a medallist, one must go to the British Museum.

That the practice of the ceramic art was for many centuries of great importance among the Sienese, has recently been proved by Prof. Lang-

(a) [We possess records of several Sienese masters who worked in glass and mosaic before Giacomo's day, such as *Dono* and *Giunta* (1287); *Tura di Caffone* (1310-1325). *Andrea di Mimo* and *Michele di Ser Memmo* were among Giacomo's contemporaries.]

(b) [*Ambrogio di Bindo*, *Giustiniano da Todi*, *Cristoforo di Mone*, *Francesco di Giovanni*, *Girolamo di Contro*, *Guasparre di Giovanni*, were well-known glass-workers of the Fifteenth Century.]

(c) [Pastorino was a pupil of the famous French glass-worker, *Guillaume de Marcillat*.]

ton Douglas (1), to whom is due the entire credit for having rehabilitated this craft as one of the foremost industries of old Siena. Except for some fine tiles in Sta. Caterina, Sant' Agostino, the Petrucci Palace, and the cloister of S. Francesco, few if any examples of this lost art are now to be seen in the city. There still exists a *fabbrica* of pottery, but it produces household utensils only, and these of the roughest description. It is interesting to know, however, that the site of this present *fabbrica*, near the church of Sta. Lucia, has for many centuries been the centre of this popular trade.

Although mentioned as early as 1258, the art of wood-carving and inlaying, for which Siena is so justly famous, did not reach its full development until the 15th Century (a). In the cathedrals of both Siena and Orvieto workmen had had ample opportunity to perfect their technique, and when *Domenico di Niccolò* commenced, early in the Quattrocento, to decorate the choirs of the Sienese Duomo and the Palazzo Pubblico, he lavished upon them all the beauty possible to his

(1) In the *Nineteenth Century* of Septembr, 1900.

(a) [*Mannello di Ranieri* (1259); *Vanni di Tura* (recorded 1323-1339); *Nicola di Nuto* (rec. 1322-1345); *Francesco del Tonghio* (rec. 1329-1388); *Giacomo di Francesco* (rec. 13880-1406); *Mariano d' Angiolo* (rec. 1377-1390); *Barna di Turino* (rec. 1379-1400); were all distinguished in their day as *maestri di legname*.]

craft. Many of his works have disappeared ; that in the Palazzo Pubblico, however, remains, and is one of the finest existing specimens of *intarsia* work. *Pietro del Minella* and his two brothers, *Antonio* and *Giovanni*, continued to execute choir-stalls (for the Hospital church) and other furnishings. In *Antonio Barili*, the art of wood-carving and wood-inlaying reached its highest achievements. Indeed, both he and his nephew *Giovanni* were among the ablest masters this art has ever produced. Much of their work has perished, although a part of the decorations for the Palazzo “ del Magnifico, ” now in the Sienese Academy, and the organ and cantoria above the sacristy door of the Duomo, still enable us to form a fair idea of their delicate and graceful work. Of a later period (second half of 16th Century), *Bar-tolommeo Neroni* (better known as *Il Riccio*) proved himself a worthy successor to the Barili, leaving behind him productions which were unri-valled in richness and magnificence of effect by those of any other carvers of his time.

Although the last to be mentioned, the art of inlaying in marble has not only been one of the most important of Siena's crafts, but has continued to be practised until the present day. The pavement of her Cathedral, which indeed gave rise to the industry in Siena, has been pieced together by artists of many centuries—sometimes producing a beautiful and legitimate deco-

rative design, sometimes an equally displeasing one. But, taken as a whole, their work is effective and forms an integral part of the striking interior of the church they have helped to adorn. The pavement will be described in detail when speaking of the Duomo.

ITINERARY

NOTE. For those visitors who can spend but a day or two in Siena, the following points of interest are the most important: **Piazza del Campo** and the **Palazzo Pubblico**, **Cathedral** and **Baptistery**, **Opera del Duomo**, **Galleria delle Belle Arti**; the churches of **S. Domenico**, **S. Francesco**, **Sta Maria dei Servi** and **Sant' Agostino**; **House of St. Catherine**; **Archivio**.

TERZO DI CITTÀ

The central and most characteristic part of Siena is the large **Piazza del Campo** (now officially called the **Piazza Vittorio Emanuele**). It is most easily reached by following the **Via Cavour**, the principal street of the town, as far as the **Loggia di Mercanzia**, which stands near the meeting of the **Via Ricasoli** and the **Via Cavour** (a) —a

(a) [Since the first correction of this guide certain of the streets of Siena have, as the result of the state of feeling aroused by the war, undergone a regrettable change of name—a section of the **Via Ricasoli**, for instance, being now officially denominated **Via Trento**, a portion of the **Via Cavour**, **Via Trieste**, while the **Via delle Belle Arti** has been re-baptized **Via Cesare Battisti**.]

point called the Croce del Travaglio (1). Passing down the steps to the left of the Loggia, the sudden view of the beautiful Piazza is most strikingly impressive. Immediately in front, at the bottom of the slope, stands the great Palazzo Pubblico with its wonderful soaring bell-tower. On all sides are high palaces, but palaces that have lost much of the mediæval aspect, their towers having been cut down and their façades almost entirely made over at various periods. Only the huge red Gothic building to the left, the Palazzo Sansedoni, remains almost as it was in the 14th Century. The fan-shaped Piazza itself is very interesting. Its central area, enclosed by a broad pavement over which the famous Palio is run, is divided by stone ribs which meet in front of the Palazzo, the spaces between being paved, diagonally, with brick.

This unique and beautiful “square” has at all times been the heart and centre of Siena. Here, whether for pleasure or for war, for councils good or evil, have her people always assembled. The scene of the many games so dear to the heart of Sienese (2), it yet awakes to life and gaiety when the Palio of August is run, and thousands of *contadine* in their flapping hats and gaily coloured garments crowd the Piazza to witness

(1) See page 81 (1) *supra*.

(2) See pages 145-147 *supra*.

the time-honoured pageant. Until within the last twenty-five years the market was held here—now it is housed in an uninteresting new structure, at the back of the Palazzo Pubblico, on the square below. When the Piazza itself was used for this purpose (1), each vendor was apportioned his particular stand, the dividing lines of the square much facilitating such an arrangement. And many were the ancient laws to regulate the buying and selling (2). Endless associations, historical, political and social, are connected with the Piazza del Campo. Dante has immortalized it by describing the scene of the proud Provenzano Salvani begging there of the people alms to ransom his friend imprisoned by Charles of Anjou (3).

(1) After a market of cattle, as well as food of all kinds, the condition of the Piazza must have been appalling, and the magistrates of the city evidently appreciated the difficulty of cleaning it, for, in the 13th century, the individual charged with that duty was allowed to keep a sow and four sucking pigs to assist his endeavours.

(2) During the 14th century the fishmongers, who had their stands below what is now the Circolo degli Uniti, were evidently inclined to sell old, as well as fresh, fish. We read that on market days, at the first stroke of the evening bell, the officials charged with that duty proceeded to their counters and flung on the ground the unsold baskets of fresh fish; these were immediately seized upon by those needy people who had eagerly awaited the moment. Dishonesty, however, was not always on the side of the seller. It is related how once a man stole from the Piazza flour which had been left over night by the owners; he went on all fours with a bell, and the people taking him for one of St. Anthony's pigs, he got away with a goodly quantity, having succeeded in making three or four trips.

(3) *Divina Commedia*. Purg. XI, 133-136.

Here it was that S. Bernardino held captive his turbulent audience by means of his splendid eloquence. Here during the days of the city's own death-struggle, her people held the most brilliant games, undaunted by the ghosts of death and famine that already stalked the streets. Nor has it been free from darker pictures of bloodshed, riot and rebellion. Almost in our own times it has been the scene of the utmost cruelty, as well as of the most unbridled mirth (1). Indeed, the very web of Siena's history has been spun about her Campo, and to recount even a small part of the many happenings which have here taken place would fill a goodly volume. To-day, however, except for the noisy crowd of the Palio, the Piazza basks quietly in the sun, resting sleepily after its varied scenes of wild gaiety and untold terror; even the clamour and colour of the market is gone. Beautiful and more enduring monuments of former greatness remain, however, and their charm is the more enhanced by the present quiet and rest.

Near the centre of the Campo is the far-famed **Fonte Gaia** (1412-1419), once a splendid work of Jacopo della Quercia, but now a cold and life-

(1) Little more than a century ago, when Napoleon had here erected his "Tree of Liberty," some fanatic priests, at the head of an Aretine mob, broke into Siena and into the Ghetto, and having cut down the "tree" to make a bonfire, threw the Jews into it one by one, thrusting them back as they attempted to crawl out!

less copy which preserves only the composition of the original work, the ruined fragments of which have been placed in the Opera del Duomo for safer keeping (a). It is well, however, to examine this modern reproduction, by Sarrocchi, in order to comprehend what the work must once have been like in its entirety.

As early as the 12th Century, among the various houses situated on the site now occupied by the **Palazzo Pubblico**, there existed a *doga-na*, or custom-house, for oil and salt, many of the upper rooms of which were occupied by administrators of the Commune. In 1282 the General Council of the city elected to adopt as a permanent place of residence this building, already occupied as it was by some of their offices. In 1288 they commenced to purchase the adjoining houses, and from 1294 these underwent an entire rebuilding which ultimately resulted (by 1309) in the “Palazzo della Signoria” (1). It was not until the 15th Century, however, when the third storey was added to the wings, that the palace reached its present dimensions; one can still see, above the windows of the second storey, the corbels which supported the former battlemented top. The rich colour of the brick

(a) [These fragments have since been removed to the Loggia of the Palazzo Pubblico (see *postea*).]

(1) See MILANESI, *Commentary to the Life of Simone Memmi*, VASARI, Ed. Sansoni, vol. I, p. 566.

walls is relieved by the white marble of the dividing window-shafts and by the use of black and white shields above each window. In the centre of the façade are the arms of Duke Cosimo I, with those of Siena on either side—the *Libertas* (1) being very naturally omitted. Above is the splendid Monogram of Christ (2) executed by the Turini family. Over the door to right is a little statue of St. Ansanus, one of the patron saints of the city (3); and below this, two Roman she-wolves, placed on either side of the Lion of the People—all works of the 14th Century. At the right of this entrance stands a column bearing, still again, the Roman emblem of Siena. Column and wolf were placed there in 1459 by the Governors of the Republic, in order to distinguish their entrance from that of the Potestà. The gilt-bronze wolf is the work of Giovanni Turini.

(1) The origin of the Balzana, and also that of the Lion shield, have already been described, pp. 30-31 and p. 44. That of the *Libertas* is as follows: When Charlemagne sent messengers to Siena to announce his coronation, the people of the city selected three gentlemen who should go to the Emperor as ambassadors with instructions to ask "a remission of all imperial imposts, old and new, for all time to come, agreeing to provide, on request of the Church, a thousand men of battle." They obtained all that they asked, and the three ambassadors were ennobled and made Counts of the Empire. On their return it was ordered that in all public places should be painted an azure shield, with the word *LIBERTAS* inscribed within it in letters of gold.

(2) See page 98 *supra*.

(3) See p. 20 *supra*.

The exquisite bell-tower, commenced in 1338, and not yet finished in 1348, is known as the **Torre del Mangia**. Its name is probably derived from that of the chief of the bell-ringers employed before public clocks were introduced. When the tower was built, an automaton was placed on the summit to strike the bells, which being in its turn called the "Mangia," ultimately gave its name to the tower itself. The architects of this wonderful shaft were several in number. Minuccio and Francesco di Rinaldo of Perugia, were the earliest of these, and were followed, in 1339, by Agostino di Giovanni. The design for the crown of the tower is attributed to Lippo Memmi on the strength of two documents (1), the usual translation of which is, however, open to criticism.

At the base of the Torre del Mangia is the **Cappella della Piazza**, a chapel commissioned by the Commune to fulfil a vow made during the terrible plague of 1348. It was begun in the year 1352, under the supervision of the *Operaio del Duomo*, and, after several unsuccessful attempts, was finally completed in 1376 (a). Nearly a hundred years later Antonio Federighi raised the roof, and added the entire upper portion of the structure, with its spirited frieze of griffins

(1) *Mis. Stor. Sen.* vol. II, p. 148.

(a) [One of the original designs for the chapel is still preserved in the Opera del Duomo, see *postea*.]

and the fine Renaissance wreaths encircling the arms of Siena. The twelve Gothic niches were probably intended for figures of the Apostles, but six only are at present filled. These statues, executed between 1377 and 1381, by four different craftsmen—one only of whom was a sculptor by profession (1)—well show into what a state of decadence Sienese sculpture had at that time fallen. The allegorical figures on the parapet, in front, and part of the adjacent decoration, are bad modern copies, some of the original sculpture being now in the Opera del Duomo. Over the altar is a much damaged and retouched fresco of the Madonna, Child, and Saints, by Sodoma. The chapel as a whole is not unpleasing, but is naturally lacking in unity of character.

Before visiting the **interior of the Palazzo Pubblico**, the visitor should notice a courtyard to the right of the Cappella della Piazza, which is interesting both for its architecture and for the many coats-of-arms of various Potestà, and which also contains a damaged fresco of the Madonna, Child and Saints, of the late *Trecento*. The Palace itself is a veritable treasure-house of early Sienese painting. In order to take the works of

(1) The figures of SS. Peter, James the Elder and James the Younger, are by Mariano d'Agnolo and Bartolommeo di Tommè; that of the Baptist by Mariano d'Agnolo; those of SS. Matthew and Bartholomew by Giovanni della Pietra and Lando di Stefano respectively.

art which it contains as nearly as possible in chronological sequence, it is best to visit first the **second floor** (entrance by door at extreme right; fee to custodian, who, if not there, is always to be found at entrance to ground floor (a). To the right, as we enter, is the spacious **Sala del Mappamondo** or **Sala delle Balestre**, now used as a court-room. The end wall is almost entirely covered with a vast fresco by Simone Martini. It represents the Virgin and Child enthroned beneath a splendid canopy upheld by SS. Peter and Paul, the Baptist and Evangelist, and attended by a numerous choir of Saints and Angels. In front of the Divine Protectress of Siena kneel the city's patron saints—Ansanus, Victor, Crescentius and Savinus. Painted originally in 1315, the fresco was in part renewed within the following decade by Simone himself, owing to damage caused by the dampness generated by a magazine of salt on the floor below. Its present condition is none of the best, although portions of it are better preserved than others. Nevertheless, neither the hand of time nor the carelessness of man has been able to destroy our pleasure in this celestial vision, as it may justly be called. The Virgin still sits in majesty with the gentle yet dignified Child erect upon her knee, and the

(a) [According, to the present regulations, the visitor must here provide himself with a ticket (Lire 2.50) in order to gain admittance to the upper floors of the Palace.]

surrounding figures still retain, to a great extent, their original loveliness of colour and of form—the spirit of the picture remains unchanged. This is, in a way, the earliest of Simone's works now left to us. The change from Duccio's types is in many cases but slight, yet the faces and figures are already Simone's own. In the rounds which fill the painted framing of the fresco are fine half-figures of Christ and various Saints and Prophets, which, together with the intervening ornament, are all worthy of the most careful attention (1) (a).

High up on the opposite wall is a later work of Simone—his splendid equestrian portrait of Guidoriccio da Fogliano, Captain of War in Siena (painted 1328). It represents the warrior, firmly seated on his richly caparisoned steed, riding out from the Sienese camp at the siege of Montemassi. This is probably the earliest of such equestrian portraits in Italian art, and certainly one of the greatest. Considerably restored in parts (b), but by no means ruined, as some writers would lead

(1) For those who can read mediæval Italian, there are, at the base of the fresco, two rhymed inscriptions of considerable poetic charm.

(a) [After having studied it at close quarters, the visitor will do well to view this fresco at a distance, from just beyond the entrance to the adjoining Sala della Pace. Thus framed, as it were, by the door-way, the painting will afford him a concentrated impression of its colour and design quite undisturbed by its surroundings.]

(b) [The restoration is here mostly limited to the repainting of the back-ground.]

us to believe, the fresco is strikingly decorative, with its imposing central figure thrown out against the effective background of dark sky—with its strange pattern of picket-fence and lances and its little castellated towns rising up on either side (1). As to the horseman and his charger—follow the flow of the mantle and of the gorgeous trappings, as they sweep away toward the right, and you will realize how Simone loved his running line. For those who really appreciate Sienese art, this work remains among its most remarkable achievements.

On the side wall are two battle-scenes in monochrome; that to the left is the finer of the two, and represents the victory of the Sienese over the Compagnia del Cappello, in 1363, at Torrita (2); that to the right represents the battle of Poggio Imperiale near Poggibonsi, fought between the Florentines and the Duke of Calabria in

(1) Since writing the above description, it has been pointed out to me that it is possible that one of the "little castellated towns" is not a town at all, but a *Battifolle*. "The name of *Battifolle* was given to a fortress with towers and ramparts made almost entirely of wood. It was usual to construct such a fortress whenever it was necessary to maintain a long siege of some large town or village. In the Palazzo Comunale of Siena, Simone Martini painted an affresco of Guido Riccio Fogliani at the siege of Montemassi. In that picture may be seen a *Battifolle*, complete in all its parts". —LISINI and MENGOLZI, *Frammento di una Cronachetta Senese d'Anonimo del Secolo XIV* (Siena, Tip. Lazzeri, 1893) page 12., note (1).

(2) See page 70 *supra*, and note (1).

1479 (1). The first of these frescoes is probably by Lippe Vanni, the second by Giovanni di Cristofano and Francesco d'Andrea—two painters by whom we can cite no other authenticated work. Both paintings, apart from their historical interest, contain details deserving of greater attention than is usually bestowed upon them. On the pilasters below are figures of San Bernardino, by Sano di Pietro; of St. Catherine—a fine ideal finely carried out—by Vecchietta; and of the Beato Ambrogio Sansedoni, by a later and inferior artist.

Under the portrait of Guidoriccio hangs the famous Madonna by Guido da Siena. The flesh parts of the two principal figures in this much-discussed picture—which was doubtless painted by Guido during the second half of the 13th Century, and not in 1221 as the present inscription records (2)—were entirely renewed by a mem-

(1) See page 104 *supra*.

(2) See page 178 *supra*. [The reasons put forward by Milanesi and others in favour of 1281, as the precise date of this picture, are not in reality conclusive, but we may safely accept that year as being nearer the true one than that now to be read in the inscription on the panel. That this inscription was at least partially repainted, and its date either casually or intentionally altered, at a comparatively early period—in all probability at the time of the repainting of the main panel—is, in our opinion, certain. The style of the figures in the untouched pediment and in the upper angles of the main panel, is sufficient to prove that the altar-piece, as a whole, could hardly have been painted at any such early date as 1221, or for that matter, much before the middle of the century.]

ber of the school of Duccio in the early years of the century following. The character of Guido's style may be gauged, however, by the figures of the six adoring angels in the upper part of the main panel, that of Christ in the triangle above, and such parts of the Virgin's figure and drapery as have escaped alteration. On either side are frescoes by Sodoma—St. Ansanus baptizing the Sienese, and St. Victor. The fresco of the Beato Bernardo Tolomei is likewise from his hand. They rank among his more creditable works, the St. Victor, more especially, being, for its author, an exceptionally masculine conception. It is, however, difficult to appreciate the work of Sodoma in this room, surrounded as it is by masterpieces of so infinitely nobler and more refined an art.

From this room we enter the **Sala della Pace**, or as it was once called, the **Sala dei Nove**—the room of the Magistracy of the Nine. Three of its walls are covered by Ambrogio Lorenzetti's world-famous allegories of the causes and results of Good and Bad Government (painted 1337-1340). The first, and least damaged, of the series is opposite the windows. On the left sits the noble figure of Justice, enthroned, with crowned Wisdom above to guide her. Wisdom holds a pair of scales from which, on her right, leans downward the Angel of Distributive Justice, beheading one man and crowning another; from

the left arm leans the Angel of Commutative Justice, giving money to one and weapons to another. Below Justice sits Concord—a most characteristic example of Ambrogio's work—holding two cords which proceed from the scales above her, and which unite the group of citizens who pass from her before the Commune of Siena (1)—a majestic figure of a middle aged man, clothed in rich garments of the Sienese colours. He holds in his right hand the sceptre of government to which is attached the end of the cord of Justice and Wisdom, and in his left a disk bearing an image of the Virgin—always the Protectress of Siena. Above him hover Faith, Hope and Charity. To his right and left are seated Prudence, Fortitude

(1) The allegory is repeated in the *Tavoletta di Biccherna* of 1385; while, on the *Tavoletta di Gabella* of 1480, the Blessed Virgin is depicted as kneeling before a miniature Siena, raised upon three columns, around which she draws a rope, the ancient emblem of civic concord.

The same symbolism is often to be met with in the elder writers. Thus *Tirare a una fune* or *a una corda* is a phrase which is constantly used to signify united and concordant effort. Compare, for example, the following lines from the Proem to the *Tesoro* of Brunetto Latini:

Ond'io non so nessuno
Ch'io volessi vedere
La mia cittade avere
Del tutto alla sua guisa,
Nè che fosse divisa;
Ma tutti per comune
Tirassero una fune
Di pace e di ben fare.

(The above note has been sent me by Mr. Heywood).

and Peace, Magnanimity, Temperance and Legal Justice. Most beautiful of these is the exquisitely modelled figure of Peace, crowned with olive and holding in her hand a branch of the same. Below the Commune are the Wolf and Twins, and groups of fully-armed warriors on horse and on foot. To his right come conquered enemies offering tribute, while others are led before him in fetters.

On the right wall are depicted the effects of good government. Within the city, scenes of prosperity and gaiety abound; knights and ladies ride through the town; in a square a group of young girls join in a merry dance (1). Outside the town there stretches a smiling landscape, and peasants safely bring their produce toward the city gate. Above the whole scene hovers Security—a winged woman with a scroll and gallows. On the opposite wall are seen the effects

(1) This seems to be a form of the celebrated *Rigoletto* or *Ridda*, a sort of round dance (*ballo tondo*) in which the dancers moved in a circle, hand in hand, singing. It is alluded to by Boccaccio, and seems to have been a usual form of amusement with the Florentines on May Day.

In the *Rime* of Franco Sacchetti, we read:

Sempre danze, e rigoletti
Con diletto e gioia ciascuno;
Vecchi come giovenetti
Non è differente alcuno.

Such dances appear to have continued in Siena up to the fall of the Republic. On January 13th, 1555, we read that the youths, who were about to play at *Pallone*, “fecero un grandissimo *ballo tondo* che empiva più di mezza la piazza”—SOZZINI, *Diario ad annum*.

of Bad Government. At the right sits the horned and monstrous figure of Tyranny, his left foot resting on a goat. Above him are Avarice, Pride and Vainglory. Horrible beings sit on either side—Fraud, Treason and Cruelty, Fury, Division and War. Below lies Justice, overthrown and bound. Within the walls of the city murder and evil deeds prevail, anarchy and disorder reign supreme; without, the fields are devastated. Over the miserable town hovers the demon of Terror.

Of the illustrative tendencies of these frescoes, I have spoken in the Introductory chapter(1). Considered purely as a decoration, they do not form as successful a whole as might have been expected. The detail is too exacting and deters the spectator from receiving a comprehensive impression of the entire work. Again, their damaged condition—fortunately, they are but partially restored(a)—does not add to their decorative effect. Their wonderful deep and subdued colour, strongly reminding us as, it does, of some of the paint-

(1) Pages 182-183 *supra*.

(a) [These frescoes have been restored, in certain of their parts, at different periods. The earlier of these restorations, carefully executed by conscientious artists, are hardly noticeable, but the central portion of the painting representing the Effects of Bad Government has suffered severely from the vulgar brush of a Seventeenth-Century painter who has succeeded in completely renewing and spoiling some of the figures. Portions of the upper frieze with its medallions have also been covered by the renewal and lowering of the ceiling.]

ing of China and Japan, is, however, an everlasting source of pleasure. To thoroughly enjoy these frescoes we must examine them in detail. Many of the individual figures and incidents are not only possessed of great charm, but are masterly as regards both form and action. The figure of Peace, already mentioned, is almost classic in its pure simplicity and delicate modelling. The episode of the dancing girls, in the fresco on the right, and that, on the left, of the mail-clad knight issuing from the city gate—to mention but two examples—show a power fully equal to that of the Florentines over modelling, splendid movement, and foreshortening (*a*).

From the Sala del Mappamondo opens also the **Chapel** of the palace, the walls and ceilings of which are covered with frescoes, begun in 1407, by Taddeo di Bartolo. Those in the corridor, outside the screen, represent Roman and Biblical heroes—curiously foreshadowing, in their subject-matter, Perugino's decorations of the Sala del Cambio at Perugia. The colossal figure of St. Christopher and the smaller one of Judas Mac-

(*a*) [We may unhesitatingly go further in asserting that nowhere in contemporary Florentine painting do we come across any such perfect renderings of form and movement. The group of the knight and his charger is alone sufficient to repudiate, in the most impressive manner, the oft-repeated remarks of certain critics as to the supposed inferiority of the Sienese in the representation of plastic and motive values.]

cabœus are particularly noteworthy in their original brilliant colouring. Over the entrance to the corridor is painted an interesting mediæval map of Rome, clearly showing many of that city's famous monuments. The fine holy-water basin, with its supporting figures of bronze, was designed and cast by Giovanni Turini. The frescoes within the chapel itself represent, on the left wall, four closing scenes from the life of the Virgin—her Farewell to the Apostles, her Death, her Funeral and her Assumption. Although in great part repainted and heavily regilded (*b*), these frescoes retain much of their original simplicity and force, and are still very characteristic works. The Assumption of the Virgin fairly glows with the reflected light of its golden sky, which throws out in bold outline the city on the hills, much as Siena can be seen to-day at the setting of the sun. One the most striking features of this notable work is, however, the sweeping, downward movement of the group of Christ and His angels. Taddeo's powers of depicting movement are also shown in the first of the frescoes—that in which the Apostles are making their last earthly visit to the Virgin. The remaining walls, the vaulting, and the faces of the pilasters, are decorated with paintings—also by Taddeo—of the Annunciation,

(*b*) [The figures on the ceiling and in the arches have mostly escaped this unpardonable "restoration". That of the Baptist on the altar is also happily intact.]

the Virtues, the Evangelists and Doctors of the Church, Prophets, Saints and Angels, most of which are in far better condition than those on the left wall. Among the objects of interest in this almost perfectly furnished chapel, we would call special attention to the handsome iron screen, finished in 1445 by Giacomo di Giovanni (1)—one of the finest existing example of its kind. The remarkable inlaid choir-stalls, which illustrate the Nicene Creed, were executed by Domenico di Niccolò on designs by Taddeo di Bartolo (1415-1428). The scenes begin at the left of the altar, and continue at the further right corner. Beneath them are interesting carved and inlaid medallions containing various Gothic motifs. Over the altar is a picture by Sodoma, representing the Madonna and Child between St. Joseph and St. Leonard, with a very fantastic background—rightly praised by Vasari as being one of the master's more carefully finished paintings. The handsome organ is another late piece of work, constructed by Giovanni d'Antonio Piffero, decorated by Ghino d'Antonio, (1522-1524). In the centre of the chapel hangs a pleasing Gothic lantern.

We pass into the next room, known as the

(1) It has been thought that the design for this screen is due to Jacopo della Quercia. *Doc.*, BORGHESE e BANCHI, p. 177.

Sala dei Cardinali. On the left wall is a fresco of the Virgin and Child with Saints. which, although absolutely ruined, still remains a pleasing bit of colour. Another ruined fresco, of St. Paul, was once the work of a follower of Taddeo di Bartolo. On the right a much restored triptych—representing the Magdalen between SS. Stephen and Anthong—is also of the school of Taddeo. (a) The panel of the Virgin and Child with Angels, dated 1484, and attributed to Matteo, is by his pupil Cozzarelli. This is a good example of how near the pupil could at times come to his master, the difference here being one of quality only. Two small and very interesting panels which represent a sermon and a miracle of S. Bernardino are by Francesco di Giorgio (b). The adjoining picture of the Annunciation is by a follower of Pietro Lorenzetti. On the wall above is a damaged early Crucifix.

The walls of the following **Sala della Balla** were decorated by one of the most famous of the later followers of Giotto, Spinello Aretino (c), who was assisted in the work by his son Parri.

(a) [This is a work of Martino di Bartolommeo.]

(b) [This room also contains, temporarily, two carved wooden figures of Saints (unfortunately white-washed) by a close follower of Jacopo della Quercia, powerful but somewhat mannered works, formerly in the Oratorio of Sant'Onofrio.]

(c) [Strictly speaking, Spinello was a pupil of Agnolo Gaddi.]

This decoration is one of the very rare examples of painting by a foreign artist in Siena. The allegorical figures in the ceiling are by Martino di Bartolommeo, a pupil of Taddeo. They are graceful and pleasing in colour. The scenes painted by Spinello and his son represent various episodes in the life of the great Sienese Pope, Alexander III (Orlando Bandinelli), many of them bearing upon the heroic struggle of the Italians against the invader Frederic Barbarossa. Artistically speaking, the most interesting are those depicting the Pope giving a sword to the Doge Ziani of Venice as he kneels surrounded by his soldiers (opposite the first window) and, on the wall opposite the entrance, the triumphant procession of the victorious Alexander, his bridle held by the Doge and the humbled Emperor himself. Above the entrance is the confused but interesting painting of a mediæval naval battle—between the Venetians and Barbarossa's son Otho, who was eventually taken prisoner, as can be seen at the right of the fresco. In this room there are also three small coffers. The paintings on one of them, proudly shown by the custodian as genuine Fra Angelicos, are by a Sienese artist of the early 15th Century. The chest of iron and wood, decorated by some artist of the school of Lippo Memmi, is said to have been used to hold the money for the daily expenditures of the Republic. The wolf on the third coffer is generally attribu-

ted to Barili, the coffer itself being in great part modern. The room contains also a fine intarsia door (leading into the Chapel) and handsome Gothic seats decorated with the arms of Siena, the latter executed by Barna di Turino.

Before leaving this part of the palace, the visitor is conducted into the **Sala del Concistoro**. The marble doorway is attributed, with no reason, to Jacopo della Quercia. Executed in 1446, it is in all probability the work of the Florentine Bernardo Rossellino. It is an excellent but somewhat cold piece of carving, and the touches of gold and colour considerably enhance its effect. The intarsia doors are by a Sienese artist. The ceiling paintings, by Beccafumi, representing scenes from ancient history, can hardly be classed among his more successful works, overcrowded as they are in composition. The present somewhat garish colour is probably in no small part due to over-cleaning. The effects of light and shade are, as is usual with this master, very interesting.

At the foot of the recently re-modelled stairway, in the corridor beyond the Sala di Balla, is the only known fresco by Neroccio—a Virgin and Child enthroned (1484). Although not devoid of the inherent charm which that artist's work invariably possesses, this much damaged fresco does not make us regret the fact that he limited his attention to the painting of panels. The end

room, known as the *Sala Monumentale*, has been adorned by modern artists with scenes from the story of the unification of Italy. Considered as reminders of certain important historical events, these works may have some interest, but when looked at from an artistic standpoint the less said of them the better.

On the uppermost floor of the palace is a spacious and airy *loggia* from which a splendid view is to be enjoyed—a view of unending distances, with the misty and beautiful outline of Monte Amiata far off against the sky. The grand but ruined fresco of the Virgin and Child, on the end wall, is by Ambrogio Lorenzetti (*a*). The timbered ceiling (restored) is worthy of note (*b*).

(*a*) [This painting is but a fragment of what was once a much larger composition, commissioned of the master in 1339, and comprising various figures of Saints, Angels and Virtues—in all probability not dissimilar in its original design to the central portion of Ambrogio's great altarpiece at Massa Marittima.]

(*b*) This *loggia* now harbours the damaged but precious remains of Jacopo della Quercia's celebrated Fonte Gaia (1409-1419), removed from the Opera del Duomo,—where they had remained since 1858—in 1904. The various fragments have been arranged against the three walls in approximately the same order which they occupied in their original position in the Piazza del Campo: in the centre, the Virgin and Child flanked by two headless angels: to either side and in the wings, seated figures of the Virtues—to the spectator's right, starting from the main group, Justice, (head renewed in 16th Century), Charity, (the upper half of the body gone), Temperance, Faith—to the left, Prudence, Fortitude (another fragment), Faith (head only), Wisdom: in the last niche of the wings, the Creation of Man and the Expulsion from Eden (all these in high relief): on

The entrance to the **ground floor** is by the second door from the right (custodian necessary; fee). Just inside are the remnants of some Trecento frescoes. On the ceiling is a fine figure of Christ with Cherubim and the Four Evangelists, and on either wall two Saints—originally all works of the school of Bartolo di Fredi. The visitor is conducted through various small rooms now used as municipal offices. The **Sala del Sindaco** contains a fresco of the Resurrection of Christ, by Sodoma, which, although fine in action, is unpleasant in colour and coarse in execution. In the **Sala di Biccherna** (1) Sano has expended his

the terminal pilasters, two groups (in the round) of Charity, or possibly Acca Larentia and Rhea Sylvia (lower portions of group to left restored in 18th Century). The greater number of these sculptures are in a terribly damaged and mutilated state—others, as we have already noted, are reduced to mere fragments. Time, neglect, and ill treatment have alike been powerless, however, to rob them of their innate beauty and strength, and they are still alive with the great qualities of Jacopo's art. The two groups of Charity are in better condition than are the reliefs, that to the left (the so-called Rhea Sylvia)—a work of the highest grace and charm—being still comparatively well preserved. Of the figures of the Virtues, the noble and splendidly composed Wisdom is that which has suffered least. The two compositions of the Creation and the Expulsion, with their battered torsos and headless figures, have lost little or nothing of their original power and forcefulness and clearly make good their author's right to be considered as the great precursor of Michelangelo. Worthy of attention is the boldly decorative foliage on the various pilasters separating the reliefs.]

(1) As to the Magistracy *di Biccherna*, see page 56 note (1) *supra*.

greatest efforts on his ever-favourite subject—the Coronation of the Virgin. This beautiful fresco (1445), filling so perfectly its apportioned space, is one of the most splendid examples of the decorative tendencies of the Sienese school. Strange to say, several of the principal figures—*e. g.* the foremost saints in the group to the left—are by another painter of the Quattrocento (1) whose style is easily distinguishable from that of Sano. The entire work was painted over an earlier fresco by Lippo Vanni, whose signature still remains. The S. Bernardino is likewise by Sano. Another and very poor Sodoma — a Madonna, Child and Santa — is to be seen in the **Sala dei Matrimoni**. In the Secretary's room is a fresco of St. Catherine—the head entirely repainted—by Sano. Outside the Sala di Biccherna is a large fresco of three Saints (2), an interesting but damaged work, also by Sano—fine in colour (*a*). In a room called the **Ufficio di Anagrafe** (in constant use by officials, who, however, courteously allow visitors to enter) is the finest of Vecchietta's existing works in Siena.

(1) According to Mr. PERKINS, by Domenico di Bartolo.

(2) S. Pietro Alessandrino, the B. Ambrogio Sansedoni and the B. Andrea Gallerani.

(*a*) [Mention may here be made of Federighi's statue of Moses (formerly in the Opera del Duomo) which has recently been placed in the main passage-way. This figure—which originally adorned the fountain of the Ghetto—is one of the artist's better works.]

In the centre of the fresco is the Virgin of Mercy, her mantle spread out to shield the suppliants about her feet; above her are choirs of exquisite angels—beautiful alike in drapery and movement; to the right a splendid figure of St. Martin leans from his horse to divide his cloak with the beggar. By no means the least pleasing quality of this fresco is its subdued and dignified colouring. On the side wall is a really fine work by Sodoma. It represents the arms of the city with the imperial Ghibelline eagle above them.

Leaving the Piazza, we return to the Croce del Travaglio. The **Loggia di Mercanzia** (1). Early in the 14th Century the wealthy Guild of Merchants (2) determined to possess a residence of its own, and to that end bought several houses (in 1309) (3) on the site of the present Loggia. The buildings satisfied the needs of the Guild for nearly a Century, and were reconstructed only in 1417-1429, by Sano di Matteo. His loggia, with the later addition of a storey, still exists as one of the familiar monuments of Siena—that part of the building which faces on the Piazza del Campo having been entirely remodelled in the 18th

(1) Now known as the "*Loggia degli Uniti*," and occupied as a club-house. Sometimes also called the "*Loggia dei Nobili*."

(2) As to the important position held by the *Arte dei Mercanti*, see p. 46 *supra*; and more particularly the *Mercante Senese nel Dugento* of Prof. L. ZDEKAUER.

(3) *Misc. Stor. Sen.* vol. III, p. 27.

Century. The Loggia as a whole, although not ineffective, is somewhat heavy in its parts. The upper storey, notwithstanding its much later date, is in comparative harmony with the older portion of the building. Of the statues which adorn the piers those of SS. Peter and Paul are by Vecchietta (1458-60)—those of SS. Victor, Ansanus and Savinus are by Federighi. The ascetic figures of Vecchietta, with their minute and detailed execution, contrast strongly with the somewhat pompous and heavily-draped statues of his rival. At either side of the Loggia is a carved marble seat; that to the right, by Federighi (1464)—a richly ornate work—is decorated with figures of Roman heroes, and on the back bears the various coats-of-arms of the city; the opposite bench, by Urbano da Cortona (1), is ornamented with figures of the Cardinal Virtues, and, on the back, with wreaths enclosing the Lion and Balzana shields and two of the devices used by the *Consoli di Mercanzia* in their seal—a pair of scales and a bale (2). The ceiling of the Loggia

(1) This work has persistently been given to Marrina on the strength of a document which contains an order of 1531 for a bench by Pietro Compagnini, Lorenzo Marrina, and Michele Cioli da Settignano (*Doc. Sen.* III, 136). Despite the document, however, the present work is obviously by Urbano da Cortona, who died in 1504.

(2) Toward the 14th Century, the Guild of Merchants had on their shield the effigy of Brutus, consul of the Romans, together with scales and a bale. *Misc. Stor. Sen.* vol. II, p. 124.

was to have been entirely decorated (in 1549) by Pastorino, but as he finished in two years only a single compartment, the remainder of the work was carried on by a later artist. It has not been definitely established which is Pastorino's ceiling; all three bays seem to have been decorated by different hands, the one to the left being the best (*a*).

Continuing up the Via Cavour, which shortly becomes the **Via di Città** (now re-christened Via Umberto I), we pass, on the right the Via di Beccheria. Half way up this street is an interesting emblem of the Guild of Butchers (1) Nearly opposite, on the left, is the Costarella dei Barbieri. with an imposing view of the Piazza. The high stone tower on the corner is a clever modern reconstruction. Opposite, at the entrance to the Via dei Pellegrini, stands a very interesting Gothic palace, comparatively unrestored, in the early days once the residence of the Potestà. We follow the Via di Città. The Palazzo d'Elci, No. 11, on the left, contains a finely-modelled little statue of Bacchus, by Federighi, long considered an anti-

(*a*) [The middle bay is probably by Pastorino. That to the right is generally ascribed to Lorenzo di Cristofano Rustici (1573). That to the left is by a different hand.]

(1) This street is continued beyond the neighbouring Via Diacceto, by the Via della Galluzza—a picturesque old thoroughfare with various overhanging arches.

que (a). Over No. 12 is a delicately carved coat-of-arms. Another fine stone tower is on the left. Directly ahead of us stands the great Gothic **Palazzo Saracini** (1) dating in large part from the 14th Century, with later restorations. It contains an extensive gallery of pictures, which can be visited by applying to the custodian (ring at bottom of stairs beyond entrance court; fee) (b). Not having yet been systematically hung, there is some difficulty in finding those that are of interest. The gallery is, I believe, soon to be carefully re-arranged and the pictures re-numbered.

On entering, the visitor is conducted through a hall into a square room. Among the many pictures it contains, two by Neroccio are of especial interest—No. 8, a Virgin and Child with Baptist and Magdalen, and No. 14, Virgin with Child standing in front, and SS. Catherine and Bernardino—both charming specimens of that

(a) [This palace also contains two pictures ascribed to Michelangelo's imitator, Daniele da Volterra.

(1) It was from the tower of the older palace on this site—then belonging to the Marescotti—that the drummer Cerreto Ceccolini reported the changeful progress of the Battle of Montaperti. Tradition has it that Ceccolini was gifted with so good a pair of eyes that he could see the moving Florentine and Sienese hosts, three or four miles distant, as they swayed backward and forward, up and down the slope of Monteperti.

(b) [Since the death of its former owner, this gallery has been closed to the public and many of its pictures sold. Special permission to visit it is to be obtained only with the greatest difficulty from its present proprietor, Count Guido Chigi-Saracini.]

master's work (a). A large and grandiose altar-piece representing the Marriage of the St. Catherine of Siena is by Beccafumi. It is well composed and one of the most ambitious attempts of this gifted, but at times somewhat academic, master. No. 69, an interesting marble relief with a fine *patina*—Virgin and Child—is by some Sienese follower of Donatello (b). Various remnants of Gothic and other sculpture of more or less interest are scattered through the room (c). The adjacent dining-hall contains good Renaissance doorways and a similar fire-place, decorated with various coats-of-arms including that of the Saracini—a Saracen's head. Two round pictures, Nos. 135 and 133, are pleasing and characteristic works of Brescianino. No. 131, Portrait of a bearded Man, if not by Sebastiano del Piombo himself, is certainly by a very close imitator of that master's later manner. In the following narrow room, a portable altar-piece, No. 244, is by Brescianino. The crucifix itself is of a somewhat later period. No. 205 is a hard but quaintly interesting portrait of a young woman with the attributes of St. Catherine,

(a) [The former of these pictures is now in the possession of Count Karolyj of Buda-Pesth.]

(b) [Similar works by this same nameless sculptor exist in the Louvre, in the Museo Civico at Pesaro, and in the Bardini Collection Florence.]

(c) [Among these were once a singularly noble female head by Giovanni Pisano and a group of the Virgin and Child by an artist very close to that master in style.]

ascribed to Botticelli (!) but evidently by Mainardi, the little-known pupil of Ghirlandaio (a).

The next two rooms contain no objects of particular interest save a hastily-executed St. Sebastian by Brescianino, a large Virgin enthroned with Saints, probably by a Sieneſe eclectic much influenced by Genga and Signorelli, and a collection of porcelain. We paſs into a ſquare room with two high windows. A delicate little triptych, No. 1275, is by Sassetta, the left wing entirely repainted. Nos. 1278 and 1277 are fragments of Saints by Sano di Pietro. There are ſome good majolica plates, in frames, hanging about the room. The adjoining badly-lighted cloſet contains ſeveral pictures of intereſt by earlier Sieneſe maſters. No. 1268, Virgin and Child, is a curious example of the primitive period of Italo-Byzantine art. No. 1263, a large panel of the Virgin and Child ſurrounded by Cherubin, although ſomewhat damaged, is one of the fineſt and moſt charming examples of Giovanni di Paolo's painting—exquiſite in decorative feeling; it is ſigned, and dated 1427. Nos. 1257, 58, 59, 60, four ſmall ſcenes from the life of Chriſt, are later works by the ſame artiſt (b). On either ſide of

(a) [This panel, we underſtand, has alſo recently been ſold, and is now replaced by a modern copy.]

(b) [Theſe four highly dramatic panels, repreſenting the Raising of Lazarus, the Way to Calvary, the Depoſition, and the Entombment, are now in the Walters collection at Baltimore (U. S. A.)]

the large panel are two pinnacles, No. 1266—the Announcing Angel and the Virgin—pleasing works of Andrea Vanni (*a*). No. 1264 is a Virgin and Child with Saints, coarse in quality, of the school of Matteo. No. 1265, Christ and the Executioners, is by Sano. No. 1273 (low down) is a remarkably fine little panel by Vecchietta—St. Martin dividing his cloak with the Beggar. The small and shivering figure of the latter is particularly worthy of notice (*b*). The arms of a Crucifix, on the right No. 1256, are also by Vecchietta (*c*). Nos. 1237, a and 38 are more fragments of Saints by Sano. The small half figure of an Angel, No. 1236, is a genuine work of Duccio (*d*). No. 1274 (high up), Virgin and Child in glory with Saints, is an interesting late Giottesque bit of painting. No. 1269, a curious picture of the Virgin and Child with Saints, Angels, and Eve lying before the Virgin's throne, is probably by Paolo di Giovanni Fei (*e*).

We pass through a small room into another somewhat larger. In the left corner is a quaint

(*a*) [Now in the Fogg Museum at Cambridge (U. S. A.)]

(*b*) [This panel is by Sassetta.]

(*c*) [These, likewise, are not by Vecchietta, but by Sassetta.]

(*d*) [More probably a production of the master's *bottega*. The attribution to Duccio has been accepted, however, by Douglas, Berenson, and others. The panel itself—a pinnacle-piece from a polyptych—is now in the Johnson Collection at Philadelphia (U. S. A.)]

(*e*) [Certainly by Paolo, and in his most careful manner.]

picture of a Vestal Virgin by some artist influenced by Sodoma and the Umbrians. Nos. 1423, 1432^{bis}, mythological figures, show the influence of Beccafumi and, more obviously, that of Peruzzi. No. 1424 is a quaintly naïve panel by Balducci and represents the Dream of Hercules. Above, No. 1422, the Rape of the Sabines, shows Beccafumi in his early Florentine period. Nos. 1359, 1362, 63, 64, figures in landscape, are interesting panels, pleasing in colour and very near to Brescianino. On the left, leaving the room, is a pleasant little Madonna by an Umbro-Sienese artist (a). Returning to the square room, we go out at the left and pass into a long gallery. In the corner room ahead are various objects in bronze, etc., and a good picture by Pacchia, N. 752, the Virgin and Child with St. John and SS. Bernardino and Catherine.

Almost the last room to be shown contains the gem of the collection—a beautiful little predella picture, much prized as a genuine Fra Angelico, representing the Adoration of the Magi (No. 933). This delicately-executed panel is obviously by the still little-known Sassetta (b). No.

(a) [In this same room are, or were, a Holy Family by a painter very close in style to Piero di Cosimo, a Nativity and two birth-plates (*deschi da parto*) by Girolamo di Benvenuto.]

(b) [The authoress was, contemporaneously with Mr. Langton Douglas, the first openly to restore this admirable little painting to Sassetta, as well as the first to ascribe to

734, Virgin adoring the Child, with Angels, is an interesting Flemish painting, minute in execution and finish, and containing much that is most enjoyable. No. 979, St. Jerome, is by a German artist. Another St. Jerome, No. 965, is of the school of Beccafumi. By that master himself is a Madonna and Child, No. 1029—an early work, fresh in colour and execution. No. 918, a pleasing round of the Virgin and Child, is by some Umbro-Sienese eclectic (*a*).

The custodian then shows a few of the private dwelling-rooms which contain various cabinets, some good ivory carving, and a fine collection of majolica. Here are two Giottesque pictures of the Florentine school—an Annunciation, and a Virgin and Child with two Saints and two Angels. The charming Madonna surrounded by little Angels, with SS. Jerome and Bernardino, is by Sano. The private chapel of the palace, beyond the entrance court, contains a fresco of the school of Sodoma.

him the charming little triptych (No. 1275) in the second room.]

(*a*) [Mention should be made of another object in this room—an early plaster cast, similar to that in the Victoria and Albert Museum at London, of the lost bronze relief of “Discord”, ascribed by different modern critics to Pollajuolo, Verrocchio, and even to Leonardo da Vinci. In our opinion, this much discussed work is, as we have already remarked, certainly by none of the above-mentioned artists, but by the Sienese Francesco di Giorgio, to whom it has rightly been attributed by P. Schubring (*Die Plastik Sienas im Quattrocento*, p. 191). The affinities which the relief presents to Francesco’s style are, in fact, too marked to admit of any reasonable doubt as to its true authorship.]

Opposite the Palazzo Saracini stand a late Renaissance palace, No. 18, with a boldly rusticated door. Farther along is the (restored) **Palazzo Nerucci** or **Piccolomini** (now occupied by the Banca d'Italia). It was built by Catherine, the sister of Pius II, and was known as the "Palazzo delle Papesse". The original design by Rossellino evidently underwent considerable change at the hands of the actual architects, Federighi and Urbano da Cortona, but the effect is nevertheless both imposing and refined. Beyond, past the Via del Castoro which leads up to the ruins of the unfinished Cathedral, is the **Palazzo de' Marsili**, rebuilt in the Gothic style in 1459 (restored). This palace is a curious and characteristic example of the tenacity with which the Sienese clung to what had for so long been their favourite style of architecture. Over No. 22 are interesting arms of the Piccolomini, probably the work of Urbano da Cortona. The Via di Città ends at the **Piazza di Postierla**. On the right-hand corner stands the tower of the Forteguerri de' Grandi, one of the oldest families of Siena. It was originally joined by a bridge with a palace opposite which belonged to the same family. Remains of the connecting arch are still to be seen embedded in the side of the tower (1).

(1) Many houses were connected by bridges, not only to insure assistance when needed, but in order to evade

In the square is one of the several similar columns to be found throughout the city, supporting the emblem of the she-wolf and twins. Beside the “Lupa”, the column bears a fine iron banner-holder, also of the 15th Century. Turning into the **Via del Capitano** we pass, on the corner, the handsome Palazzo Chigi, built on the designs of Sallustio Peruzzi (1521) (a). The Palazzo Bardi, opposite, is a creation of Bart. Neroni (1460-1570). No. 3 is a simple Gothic palace with fine coats-of-arms. Further on is the **Palazzo Grottanelli**—once the official habitation of the Captain of Justice—one of the most striking of Sienese palaces. Erected about 1300, it passed through various vicissitudes until, in 1854, it was restored to its original form. Although richly decorative, it lacks that harmony of proportion so characteristic of other Sienese buildings. The modern courtyard and staircase are worthy of notice. On the entrance-wall is a damaged fresco of the Madonna and Child by a painter of the late *Trecento*. At the corner of the street, to the right, is the large Palazzo Reale, designed for the Grand Dukes of Tuscany by Bernardo Buontalenti toward the end of the 16th Century. The Gothic palace opposite bears the *scala*—the emblem of the Hospital.

the laws which forbade being out after curfew.

(a) [This palace contains a room with ceiling decorations dubiously ascribed to Bernard van Orley.]

Few Italian squares possess, at the present day, a charm surpassing that of the quiet **Piazza del Duomo** of Siena, with its splendid Cathedral, its tall pinnacled Campanile, and the magnificent ruins of what was once intended to be the most imposing church in Christendom (1). For centuries the centre of Siena's spiritual life, it has witnessed many varied scenes of fervour and devotion, enacted at different times, and under vastly differing conditions, by a people who, despite their many contrary failings, were always at heart distinctly fervent and religious (2). The Cathedral itself, had the people been enabled to carry out their great intentions, would have resulted in a symbolic summing up of all their religious pride and glory, even as the splendid Palazzo Pubblico represented the strength and pride of the State. Taken as it is, however, the present Duomo remains an unique and not unworthy monument of their nobler aspirations. As is the case with the Piazza del Campo, many an interesting page could be written on the historic associations of this beautiful old square, but, great as is the temptation to enter into such details here, the limited space and the fixed intention of this Guide prevent my

(1) See page 61 *supra*.

(2) Compare J. A. SYMONDS, *Renaissance in Italy*. *The Fine Arts*, (London 1877), pages 220-221, and W HEYWOOD, *The "Esamples" of Fra Filippo*, &c *op. cit.*, pages 89 *et seq.*

doing so, and the reader must look elsewhere for this satisfaction.

The site of the **Cathedral** has, even from Roman times, been occupied by some edifice of worship, although the earliest place of central worship for the Sienese was probably in Castel Vecchio. Both the names of the architects and the exact date of the foundation of the present cathedral are unknown (*a*). Probably begun during the second quarter of the 13th Century, the building was practically completed by 1267. The then existing church was not only shorter than the present Duomo by one or two bays (*b*), but did not include the present choir or the Baptistery of S. Giovanni beneath. This addition of choir and baptistery was commenced by 1317. Partly because of defects soon discovered in the new work, which rendered the building unsafe, and partly because of the desire of the city to outshine her rival Florence, there arose the idea of building a new and more magnificent cathedral. Although encouraged in this proposition by the architects of the Duomo, among whom was no less a master than Lorenzo Maitani, it was not until 1338 that the citizens finally adopted this plan. It was then decided to add to the old Duomo a huge nave

(*a*) [The site of the present Cathedral appears to have been at least partially covered by a much older church, records of which date back to the 9th Century.]

(*b*) [This is more than doubtful (see *postea*).]

toward the Via di Città, the Duomo itself to be retained as transept. The famous Sienese architect Lando di Pietro was placed in charge of this work, and for some years it progressed rapidly (a). But the great plague of 1348, and the constant strife raging within Siena, sapped the city's energy and resources. Defects in construction also became apparent. The Sienese authorities turned for advice to several Florentine architects, who suggested the taking down and rebuilding of the weaker parts; but, appalled not only at the necessary expense of such an undertaking, but at the length of time the proposed labour seemed to require, the people finally abandoned the idea of their wonderful new cathedral, and turned to beautifying the older building. S. Giovanni was presently completed (1370)—its façade from a design by Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio (b). Within the next ten years the Duomo itself was lengthened toward the Hospital and much of the sculptural work of the present façade was then carved and put into place (1). The handsome Romanesque **Campanile**

(a) [Lando died in 1340 and was succeeded by Giovanni d' Agostino, who was followed by his brother, Domenico, in 1351. Both the latter masters appear to have been associated with their father, Agostino di Giovanni, in the direction of the work.]

(b) [Regarding Jacopo's supposed connection with this façade, see *postea*.]

(1) The tradition, still generally accepted, that the present façade was the work of Giovanni Pisano and his followers, was first attacked by NARDINI-DESPOTTI. Further

was rebuilt, in its present form, during the last quarter of the century (1). Compared with its splendid rival at Orvieto the façade of Siena's Duomo falls in many ways behind, especially in architectonic feeling. The three portals of equal size and height, and the absence of any accentuating perpendicular or horizontal lines, emphasize this fact. In a word, the Siena façade lacks the unity of conception and the harmony of style which is found at Orvieto—this being of course in great part due to the fact that its construction has been spread over several centuries. The lavish use of ornament, also, is not so well applied as at Orvieto, and its detail is not only overburden-

proof that it was posterior to 1370 was given by LISINI, Mrs. RICHTER also combats the tradition in her *Siena*, and lastly Prof. LANGTON DOUGLAS, in his new *History of Siena*, which has reached us while the present Guide was going to the press, gives a lengthy and detailed exposition of the truth. It is to be hoped that contemporary and future writers on the architecture of Siena will at last be persuaded to take some heed of what has been written on this important subject. [We must here state that we disagree entirely with the authoress and the above-mentioned writers in their contention that the Cathedral was lengthened after 1370 and that the actual façade, in its general design, belongs to any such late date. Restrictions of space prevent us from discussing the matter here in detail, but a careful examination of the evidence has long since convinced us of the absolute invalidity of Sig. Lisini's arguments and of those of his supporters. The present front, at least in its lower section, dates, together with much of its sculpture, undoubtedly from the time of Giovanni Pisano and his immediate followers].

(1) It was restored and refaced in 1405 and 1435. Of the bells which it contains, the largest was brought from the ruined cathedral of Sovana in 1411.

ed but frequently out of scale. Yet, with all that can be said against it, the impression of the present façade is one of a certain opulent magnificence (1). Of the sculptures which at present adorn it, those about the great central window, together with a few of the remaining figures and certain other details, are modern reproductions, the originals having been transferred to the Opera del Duomo (a). The full-length statues in the different tiers to either side, and the figures on the pinnacles, are, in almost every case, genuine works of the end of the Trecento and the earlier years of the century following, by Sienese sculptors who still distinctly show a direct descent from the Pisani (b). Among these statues some

(1) If possible, visitors should see the Cathedral by moonlight, when disagreeable details are unapparent and the great mass of black and white marble becomes a gleaming vision.

(a) [This custom of replacing large portions of the original sculpture by glaring modern copies, is still carried on, and is one of the main causes of the present inharmonious effect of the façade. Such a system of substitution may find a partial palliative in the fact that it at least spares the originals. No such excuse, however, can be put forward in defence of a second habit of the Cathedral authorities—*i. e.* that of scraping, “cleaning”, and polishing such of the old marbles as have been left in their place. This operation has only recently been carried out on certain of the finest statues on the front, with deplorable results.]

(b) [It is here only too evident that the authoress’ instinctively correct judgment has been led astray by the now too generally accepted fallacy that the façade was not erected until after 1370. The essentially Pisanesque character

are of no small merit; that of the prophetess in the first tier above the portal to the left, and a somewhat similar female figure on the southern corner of the façade, are especially noticeable for their dignity and grace, forcibly reminding us as they do of the Gothic sculpture of the North (a). The relief over the central portal, representing scenes from the life of the Virgin, is of an earlier date, and may possibly have once formed a part of the original façade. Certain it is, whether this be the case or not, that this much damaged piece

of much of its sculptural ornament is, in fact, too obvious to escape admission. Not only do most of the single figures clearly show their derivation from Giovanni Pisano, but several of them, are, in our opinion, either wholly or in good part by Giovanni's own hand. These are: three, to the left of the main portal, representing a Sybil, Daniel and Plato; two, representing Prophets, above the portal itself; two more Prophets, the first and third at the foot of the pinnacles to left and right of the square space about the rose window; and a second female figure, probably representing Mary, daughter of Moses, on the eastern corner opposite the Prefettura. Three more Prophets, on the western corner, opposite the Bishop's Palace, are very close to Giovanni, but seem rather the work of an able pupil. Probably by the master himself, again, however, are at least two of the Prophets or Apostles on the summits of the pilasters of the eastern flank of the church (those to the extreme left). Of the remaining single figures on the façade and on the side pilasters, the greater number—apart from those which have been replaced by modern copies—are by close followers of the Pisan master. Among those on the pilaster to the extreme left is one of a much later period—if not by Jacopo della Quercia, at least by a near imitator of that artist.]

(a) [As already noted, we believe these two statues to be unquestionable works of Giovanni himself.]

of carving dates, at the very latest, from the commencement of the 14th Century, and is the work of a direct follower of the Pisani (*a*). The unfinished appearance of this central portal can leave but little doubt that this relief was not intended for its present position. (*b*). The fine carved columns of this central doorway date, again, from the end of the 14th Century, or the early years of that following. The half-figures of saints, and the surrounding ornament in the lunettes of the side portals, are works of the full Renaissance, by a sculptor of the 15th Century who nearly approaches Urbano da Cortona in style. The three busts (1) in the triangular spaces above the three portals are of a still later date, having been executed by Tommaso Redi in the Seicento. The effect of the façade as a whole, as is also the case at Orvieto, is greatly marred by the inharmonious modern mosaics (*c*).

(*a*) [This relief is, as the authoress rightly asserts, by a sculptor of Nicola's school, remarkably close to Giovanni himself in style.]

(*b*) [Here, again, we have a result of the erroneous modern theory regarding the supposed late date of this façade. The columns referred to below belong undoubtedly to the closing decades of the Dugento. The relief just mentioned may well be of a somewhat later date, but even if this be the case, it cannot belong to a much later period than that of the end of the Thirteenth, or beginning of the following, Century. Nor is there any real reason for doubting that it was originally intended for its present position.]

(1) B. Ambrogio Sansedoni, B. Giovanni Colombini and B. Andrea Gallerani.

(*c*) [These academic works, executed in 1878, formed

The interior of the Cathedral is at once impressive and unusual. The continued additions of succeeding centuries have not gone to increase an effect of unity, in its decorative features at least, although, when seen under any other condition than that of glaring sunlight, there is a certain harmony in the whole. The use of alternate bands of black and white marble may strike some visitors as a somewhat disagreeable feature, but after the first impression of a striped surface has worn off, the effect is rather pleasing than otherwise. The interior as a whole, with its many Romanesque details—the heavy piers, the arcades within and without the dome, the carving of the capitals, the predominating horizontal lines, etc.—is but slightly Gothic in feeling, notwithstanding the fact that the main plan of the church was doubtless to a great extent inspired by that of San Galgano (*a*). Moreover, the sensation of spaciousness

part of a lengthy programme of more or less regrettable “restorations” carried out in connection with the façade at the time.]

(*a*) [As already noted (see *antea*, p. 167 n.), the theory—shared alike by almost all modern writers and architectural students—that the plan of the Sienese Duomo was derived from that of San Galgano, is certainly erroneous. There is, in fact, every reason for believing that the present Cathedral was begun (either as an enlargement, or in complete substitution, of the older temple which stood upon its site) long before the church of S. Galgano was thought of—in all probability toward the close of the XII Century—and in full accordance with the Romanesque traditions which governed all the architectural conceptions of the time. As it stands today, however, the Cathedral preserves but a

here present is essentially a Romanesque feature, seldom to be found among the soaring Gothic churches of the North (1). The fittings and decoration of the interior are almost entirely of Renaissance workmanship, and only serve to add to the irregular effect of the whole. A characteristic and pronounced feature of this period is the row of terra-cotta busts of the Popes (executed *ca.* 1500) which form the supports of the corbel table dividing the nave from the clerestory (2). Commencing with that of Christ, above the centre of the apse, and continuing, to His left, with St. Peter, they form a continuous and chronological line

part of its original form, and that mainly in its nave and aisles and in the disposition of the cupola, the remainder of the church having been largely remodelled during the XIII and XIV Centuries. These modifications of the primitive plan consisted in the rebuilding and ample heightening and enlargement of the transept and choir, and—as is clearly evident from the actual sunken position of the cupola—in the corresponding heightening of the nave. It is, consequently, only in connection with these later portions of the building, and with the still later gothic detail of its windows and external decoration, that there can be any question of an influence exercised by the architects or architecture of San Galgano. For a diligent examination of the probable vicissitudes of the cathedral during this period of its history, the curious student will do well to consult V. LUSINI's recently published book, *Il Duomo di Siena*. (Siena, 1911). Although certain of this writer's arguments may remain open to discussion, the conclusions arrived at are, on the whole, both plausible and carefully considered.]

(1) See p. 166 *supra*.

(2) Worthy of note are the little statues adorning the clerestory gallery—early works of the school of the Pisani.

around the church, and end with Lucius III, the successor to the famous Sienese Alexander III (Bandinelli). Below them, in the spandrels of the arches, are similar busts of Roman Emperors. Needless to say, few if any of these heads make any attempt at authentic portraiture; they are individualized, however, to a remarkable extent.

Within the main entrance is a handsome portal consisting of two richly-carved columns supporting an architrave adorned with reliefs representing episodes from the life of Sant'Ansano (*a*). The bases of the two pillars are faced with low reliefs depicting scenes from the life of the Virgin, by Urbano da Cortona. On the plinth to the right is cut the date 1483—probably that of the columns themselves. The holywater basins, on either side of the nave, are effective works by Federighi. The base of that to the right—the finer of the two—has long been erroneously considered a Roman antique. The large window in the façade, representing the Last Supper, was executed in 1549 by Pastorino, from a design by Pierino del Vaga. Near the side portals are statues of two Sienese popes: Paul V (Camillo Borghesi), 1600-1621, and Marcellus II (Marcello

(a) [The authorship of these interesting reliefs, as well as that of the remarkably decorative pillars, remains uncertain. The latter have been tentavely ascribed to Giovanni di Stefano; the former are reminiscent more of Federighi than of any other known Sienese artist, but are apparently by a somewhat later hand.]

Cervini), 1555—by Fulvio Signorini and Domenico Cafaggi.

In the **right aisle**, next to the entrance beneath the Campanile, is the tomb of Bishop Tommaso Piccolomini, who died in 1483—a refined and distinguished work by Neroccio, worthy of close study. Below it are more bas-reliefs by Urbano da Cortona, representing scenes from the life of the Virgin, several of them very pleasing in detail. The addition of the adjoining **Cappella del Voto**, in 1661, necessitated the blocking up of the famous Porta del Perdono, remains of which can still be traced on the outside of the church. The chapel was built to enshrine the still miraculous (1) “Madonna del Voto”, also known as the “Madonna degli Occhi Grossi”—the picture before which Siena begged for divine intervention when sorely oppressed by her foes. This “Madonna”—an Italo-Byzantine picture of the XIII Century—is seldom exposed to public view save on the occasion of some great *fiesta* (2).

(1) See HEYWOOD'S *A Pictorial chronicle of Siena*, page 64.

(2) On five different occasions, with solemn pomp and great humility, did the Sienese place before this picture the keys of their threatened city, thus throwing themselves upon the special mercy of their Divine Protectress—once before the never-to-be-forgotten victory of Montaperti in 1260; again, in 1483, when the *Signoria* was terrified by the threatening attitude of political exiles; in 1526, before the Battle of Camollia; in 1550, while the Spaniards were constructing their fortress; and still again in 1555, during the doughty little Republic's death struggle with her foes.

The highly emotional statues of St. Jerome and the Magdalen are characteristic productions of Bernini, remarkable, as is all that master's work, for the soft modelling of their flesh. Those of SS. Catherine and Bernardino are respectively the work of Antonio Raggi and Ercole Ferrata, of Milan.

In the **right transept** are monuments of two other Sienese popes -- Alexander III, and Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi), who built the Cappella del Voto—by Antonio Raggi and Ercole Ferrata (XVII Century). Here is also a sgraffito tomb (restored) of some slight artistic interest—a remnant of the sepulchral monument of Bishop Carlo Bartoli, designed in 1444 by Pietro del Minella, who was assisted in his work by Giuliano da Como and Federighi. In the Cappella del Sacramento (corner of transept) are some good reliefs (1423) of the four Evangelists and of St. Paul, by Giovanni Turini.

The present **high-altar** replaces an older one

For interesting accounts of these ceremonies of dedication, see Mr. HEYWOOD'S *Our Lady of August and the Palio of Siena*, Chapter I. [This picture, which is but a portion of a large altar-piece, is evidently the work of an artist belonging to that group of early Sienese painters of which Guido da Siena was perhaps the best-known member. By some writers the "Madonna degli Occhi Grossi" has been identified with another and considerably earlier picture now in the Opera del Duomo (see *postea*), but this is apparently a mistake, since the appellation in question is far more suited to the large-eyed Madonna now in the Cappella del Voto.]

which, until early in the 16th Century, stood beneath the cupola (1) and was glorified by Duccio's great "Majestas", now in the Opera del Duomo. The design for the new altar is said to have been made by Peruzzi. This may originally have been the case, but the work itself shows constructive faults, and defects in proportion, of which that master could never have been guilty. Upon it rests the magnificent bronze tabernacle by Vecchietta—originally executed (1467-1472) for the church of S. Maria della Scala and removed to the Duomo in 1506. On either side of it are Giovanni di Stefano's light-bearing angels, below which stand the even more beautiful statues of Francesco di Giorgio (2), worthy in every way of Vasari's enthusiastic praise. The small lateral half-figures are also by Francesco (3). Against the

(1) The monochrome frescoes of Saints which adorn the base of the cupola are the work of Benvenuto di Giovanni, Guidoccio Cozzarelli, and certain other masters of the end of 15th Century. The six colossal statues of the patron Saints of Siena—of gilded gesso—are by Bastiano di Francesco and Cozzarelli (1481).

(2) These Angels are of a later date than the tabernacle itself, and were commissioned in 1488. Those of Francesco were not cast until 1497.

(3) It is hardly necessary to dilate upon the artistic merits of this superb group of master-pieces in bronze, and it is as well to leave the visitor to his or her own appreciation of their manifold and varied beauties. Even in the later and in many ways inferior work of Beccafumi, who was pre-eminently a painter, we find the same astonishing and facile mastery in the handling of bronze which seems to have been inborn in the Sienese, and which made of the Turini, of Vecchietta, of Francesco di Giorgio and Giovanni di Stefano, such consummate masters of that art.

columns to either side are specimens of Beccafumi's work in bronze, the consols supporting the figures being from the design of Giacomo Cozzarelli. The angels on the other columns leading toward the nave are also by Beccafumi. (a).

The richly carved seat at the right of the altar, and a large part of the **choir-stalls**, together with the great reading-desk, were designed, and in part executed, by Bartolommeo Neroni, called Il Riccio, who was assisted in their execution by Teseo Bartalini of Pienza and Benedetto di Giovanni of Montepulciano. Despite the germs of Baroque which these work (begun in 1567) contain, they are, on the whole, temperate and splendid examples of Cinquecento carving—magnificent in colour and *patina*. The intarsia panels of the choir-stalls were made by Fra Giovanni da Verona, in 1503, for the monastery of Monte Oliveto. They are surmounted by interesting little painted wooden figures of Prophets and Saints—all that remains of the older choir executed by Francesco del Toghio, his sons, and various other masters of wood-carving, during the latter half of the 14th Century. The frescoes in the apse were once by Beccafumi, but have been ruined by restoration. The organ and *cantoria* above the sacristy door were designed by the Barili in 1511—those oppo-

(a) [Modern critics have hardly done justice to these angels of Beccafumi which are as strikingly original in conception as they are masterly in execution.]

site, by Il Riccio (1570?). The large circular window above the choir is said to have been executed by Giacomo di Castello in 1369, although in style it appears to be of an earlier period (*a*). Pleasing in colour, it is, owing to its peculiar division into squares, too unsymmetrical to be effective as a whole. In the entrance to the **sacristy** is a little holy-water stoup by Giovanni Turini. The chapels of the sacristy itself contain fragmentary remnants of 14th Century frescoes (*b*). An old wooden Crucifix hangs above the entrance door. In the Chapter-house beyond are two remarkably interesting panels by Sano di Pietro—one representing S. Bernardino preaching from an extemporized pulpit before the Palazzo Pubblico, the façade of which is here seen in its original condition--the other a similar scene taking place in front of the church of S. Francesco. The fine large panel of S. Ber-

(*a*) [The design of this window is certainly of an earlier date than that to which it is ascribed and is evidently the work of an artist of Duccio's later following.]

(*b*) [Attempts made during recent years to free these chapels of their white-wash have resulted in the recovery of a considerable portion of their original decorations. The frescoes in the two chapels to the left and right, having for their subjects ecclesiastical allegories, have been ascribed respectively to Niccolò di Naldo of Norcia and Gualtiero di Giovanni of Pisa—those in the middle chapel, illustrating scenes from the Life of the Virgin, also to Gualtiero. Documents exist proving that these two painters were occupied at least upon the ceilings of the chapels between 1499-1412. Whether they were also entrusted with the frescoes on the walls is not so certain. In any case, however, the paintings themselves are purely Sienese in character.]

nardino is also by Sano. The only other picture of interest in this room is a Madonna by Pacchiarotto. The bronze bust of Pope Alexander VII, in the entrance hall, is ascribed to Bernini.

Of all the objects of artistic interest in the Cathedral, the great marble **pulpit** of Niccolò Pisano (1) (begun 1266) is undoubtedly the most celebrated. In more ways than one this work is rightly to be considered as the first important creation of modern Italian art—as distinguished from that of classic times, and of the earlier Middle-Ages. Here, for the first time in Italy, what is known as the Gothic spirit makes itself clearly and logically felt, and Niccolò shows himself no longer a limited imitator of late Roman models—as in his earlier pulpit at Pisa—but an artist thoroughly alive to the possibilities of embodying in his work both a freer selection of natural forms and a truer expression of the emotions and ideals of his own age. The gap which separates this pulpit from its predecessor is one which separates two different epochs in Italian art (a).

(1) Niccolò was aided in this work by his son Giovanni and by his pupil Arnolfo and other assistants.

(a) [The part taken by Niccolò's pupils—and more especially by Giovanni—in the execution of this remarkable monument, was certainly a far more extensive one than is generally admitted. Not only are the germs of Giovanni's later personal style unmistakably apparent in many of the reliefs and single figures, but the new spirit which animates them is doubtless due, in great measure, to his participation in the work.]

In form the pulpit is octagonal, and is supported by columns which rest upon the backs of lions and lionesses. The base of the central supporting column is encircled by allegorical figures of the Arts and Sciences. Above the capitals, beautifully carved with birds and foliage, are statues of the Virtues. Above these, again, are figures separating the bas-reliefs. Commencing to the right of the steps, they represent: a Sybil, Prophets, the Virgin and Child—one of the most exquisite works of its kind and strongly reminiscent of the Gothic sculpture of the North—Angels, the Redeemer of the World, and symbols of the Evangelists. The first relief represents several of the scenes connected with the birth of Christ—the Visitation, the Birth of the Baptist, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Shepherds. The second represents the Adoration of the Magi. Next comes the Presentation in the Temple, Joseph's Dream, and the Flight into Egypt. Then the Massacre of the Innocents, the Crucifixion, and, last of all, the Final Judgment, with Christ in the centre dividing the Saved from the Lost. (a). The inappropriate but

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(a) [The pulpit has been moved and taken to pieces more than once. In 1329 its original columns were exchanged for those which now uphold it, and in 1570 it was raised by Il Riccio on to its present base. One or two of the smaller carvings appear to have been misplaced during its reconstruction. Thus the group of trumpet-blowing Angels,—now between the reliefs of the Presentation and the Massacre of the Innocents,—was originally to the left of the panel of the Blessed, where is now the figure of a Deacon.]

exceedingly handsome stair-case leading to the pulpit was added by Il Riccio toward the end of the 16th Century.

Opposite the pulpit is the **Cappella di S. Ansano**, containing the simple bronze tomb of Bishop Pecci, executed by Donatello in 1426, and some crude but interesting bas-reliefs of the 13th Century —Annunciation, Nativity and Adoration of the Magi—which once served as an altar frontal in the Pieve del Ponte allo Spino at Sovicille. In the **left transept** is a sacred wooden Crucifix said to have been carried by the Sienese at Montaperti. It is, however, a work of the early Quattrocento (1). Here are also statues of Pius II and Pius III—both Piccolomini popes—by Giuseppe Mazzuoli and Pietro Balestra (XVII Century). The **Cappella di S. Giovanni**, next to the transept, contains what is held to be one of the arms of the Baptist himself, presented to Siena by Pius II in 1464. The original architect of the chapel was Giovanni di Stefano; the external sculptures are by Marrina, the pedestals of the two columns being by Federighi (2). Within the chapel, above Donatello's fine bronze figure of the Baptist

(1) In the cathedral are two authentic relics of that famous battle—the *antennae* which once decorated the Sienese *carroccio*, now standing next the first piers of the nave, and (in the pavement close to the main portal) the tombstones of Andrea Beccarini and Giovanni Ugurgieri—two of the noblest victims of Siena's greatest triumph.

(2) Generally pointed out as antique Roman work.

(1457), is the reliquary—by Francesco d'Antonio (1466)—containing the sacred arm. On either side are statues of St. Ansanus and St. Catherine of Alexandria. The one is the not over intellectual but dignified and attractive work of Giovanni di Stefano; the other is by Neroccio—an unfinished figure of great and classic beauty. The reliefs on the Font are notable works by Federighi—wrongly ascribed to Jacopo della Quercia—and represent the Creation of Adam, of Eve, Temptation of the Serpent, Eve tempting Adam, Denial of their Sin, Expulsion from Paradise, and two scenes from the labours of Hercules, alluding to the strenuousness of the Christian life. Below these reliefs is an allegorical and decorative frieze, some of the groups of which possess great charm. All of the frescoes of the chapel were originally by Pintoricchio and his pupils. Three of these have been replaced by later works of no artistic value. Those by the master himself represent Alberto Aringhieri (the donor of the frescoes) as a young knight keeping his vigil, and, on the other side of the entrance, the same, at middle-age, dressed as a Knight of Rhodes—this latter an authentic portrait. The fresco of the Birth of the Baptist, opposite, is also by Pintoricchio. There is a great difference, both in colour and spirit, between these works and the two frescoes above the entrance—representing the Baptist alone and preaching in the wilderness—early works of Peruzzi while still strongly under

the influence of Pintoricchio. Outside the chapel, high up to the right, is the Gothic tomb of Cardinal Riccardo Petroni (died 1313) by Tino di Camaino,—the only surviving sepulchral monument of its size and kind now to be seen in Siena in anything approaching a complete state.

The fourth altar in the **left aisle** belongs to the famous Piccolomini family. It was commissioned by Cardinal Francesco di Nanni Todeschini, a nephew of Pius II, some years previous to his own unexpected election to the papal chair, and was originally intended to serve as his tomb. The marble altar-piece, together with a great part of the architectural framework, was executed by Andrea Bregno (148-185). Of the statues which adorn the latter, four (those of SS. Peter, James?, Pius and Gregory) are generally attributed, on the strength of documents, to Michelangelo Buonarroti, who is said also to have finished the statue of St. Francis begun by Torrigiani. Despite the documentary evidence, I cannot bring myself to believe that Michelangelo had more than a small share in the direct execution of these works, which, though showing unmistakable traces of his manner, were probably in great part cut by pupils under his supervision (a). Above the altar itself

(a) [Michelangelo was commissioned, in 1501, to execute no less than fifteen statues for this altar and in the same year received an order to finish that of St. Francis, already begun by Torrigiani. Four of these figures, and that of the St. Francis, were delivered in 1505; the others were

is a very charming Madonna of the late *Trecento* (covered) (a). On the wall near by is the small figure of a Risen Christ, with two Angels—a work far too soft and weak to be from the hand of Michelangelo, to whom it, also, is ascribed.

The famous adjoining **Libreria** was built by the above-mentioned Cardinal Francesco to contain the valuable library bequeathed to him by his uncle Pius II, and to honour the memory of that gifted pope. Above the entrance, in the left aisle, is a fresco of the Coronation of Pius III, painted after that prelate's death by Pintoricchio. It contains many and interesting heads and details is more harmonious and subdued in colour than are the frescoes within the Library. The figure of the Pope himself is executed in partial relief (b). The marble work about the door is by Marrina. The altar to the right, with the medallion-relief of St. John the Evangelist is by some Sienese follower of Donatello. The handsome bronze doors

apparently never executed. The actual carving of these works is doubtless in good part due to assistants. The statues of SS. Peter, Pius, and Gregory are the most characteristic of the master himself, and are probably those upon which his own chisel was most actively employed.]

(a) [This carefully executed little painting is by Paolo di Giovanni Fei. It is now exposed to view.]

(b) [The figures in the upper left hand portion of this fresco have been considerably damaged and restored; the remainder of the painting, though darkened by dust, appears to be untouched.]

(opened by custodian; fee) (a) are by Antoniolo Ormanni (1497). The walls of the interior are covered with frescoes, executed by Pintoricchio and his pupils (1503-1508), representing various events in the life of Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini). Despite all local protests to the contrary, these frescoes have undergone thorough and energetic cleanings, nor are they entirely free from a certain amount of restoration. Nevertheless, their present remarkable condition is due less to the unusual care bestowed upon them, than to exceptionally favourable atmospheric conditions (2). Commencing at the spectator's right, as he faces the windows, the subjects of the various paintings are as follows: 1. Enea Silvio starting with Cardinal Capranica for the Council of Basle. 2. He is at the court of James I of Scotland as ambassador of the Cardinal of Sta. Croce (1435). 3. He is crowned poet-laureate by the Emperor Frederick III (1442). 4. He is before Pope Eugenius IV as the envoy of the

(a) [The visitor is now obliged to pay upon entering the Libreria, the ticket (Lire 2,50) he receives entitling him, however, to further admittance to the neighbouring Cappella di San Giovanni, as well as to the Opera del Duomo.]

(1) By this same craftsman is the bronze *grille* of the window looking into the church of San Giovanni, below the high-altar of the Duomo.

(2) The comparison between these well-groomed paintings, and their equally important companion outside the door, is interesting.

Emperor. 5. Having abandoned a worldly life for the Church, we see him, as Bishop of Siena, present at the meeting of the Emperor and his betrothed, Eleonora of Portugal, outside the Porta Camollia (1452). 6. He is made Cardinal by Calixtus III (1456). 7. He is elected Pope under the name of Pius II (1458). 8. He holds a congress at Mantua to promote a crusade against the Turks. 9. He canonizes the great saint of his native town—Catherine of Siena. 10. Although in a dying condition (1), he goes to Ancona to hasten the crusade (1464).

Critically speaking, these works show both the limits and the possibilities of Pintoricchio's later style. Their colour is gaudy and overladen (2), the figures are painted with no care for structural form, the compositions are usually poor and burdened with many many unnecessary figures. On the other hand, the spacious and arch-framed landscapes produce an effect of Umbrian airiness which is most delightful. Many charming details, also, are to be found throughout the series and some of the heads are authentic portraits of actual historical characters. The archi-

(1) In the fresco, Pius II is being carried down to meet the Doge in command of the Venetian fleet, while in reality the Pope was already dead before the latter arrived.

(2) This may in part be due to a clause in the contract for the work which expressly required the use of much gold and many varied colours. See VASARI, Ed. Sansoni, vol. III, p. 519.

tectonic arrangement of the whole—of the ten pictures, divided by pilasters worked in delicate arabesques, and covered by a ceiling of the most refined yet harmonious pattern (1)—could not be more tellingly complete, and whatever may be urged against the frescoes in themselves, the Piccolomini Library undoubtedly remains, in its totality, one of the greatest decorative triumphs of the Renaissance.

In the windows are the arms of the Piccolomini in fine old painted glass. On the wooden shelves carved by Antonio Barili are the famous choir-books, beautiful without and within. They are filled with admirable miniatures by various Sienese artists—Lippo Vanni, Sano, Pellegrino di Mariano, Vecchietta, Cozzarelli—and by two gifted Northern masters, Liberale da Verona and Girolamo da Cremona (2). The marble group of the Three Graces is a Roman work brought to Siena by the Cardinal Francesco. The bronze figure of the Risen Christ is by Fulvio Signorini (1595). Over the door is a plaster cast of the Expulsion from Eden—a work of the school of Jacopo della Quercia, often quoted as an original (a).

(1) The ceiling, the pilasters with the charming *putti*, and the shields and angels above the windows were mainly executed by Balducci and other assistants of the master.

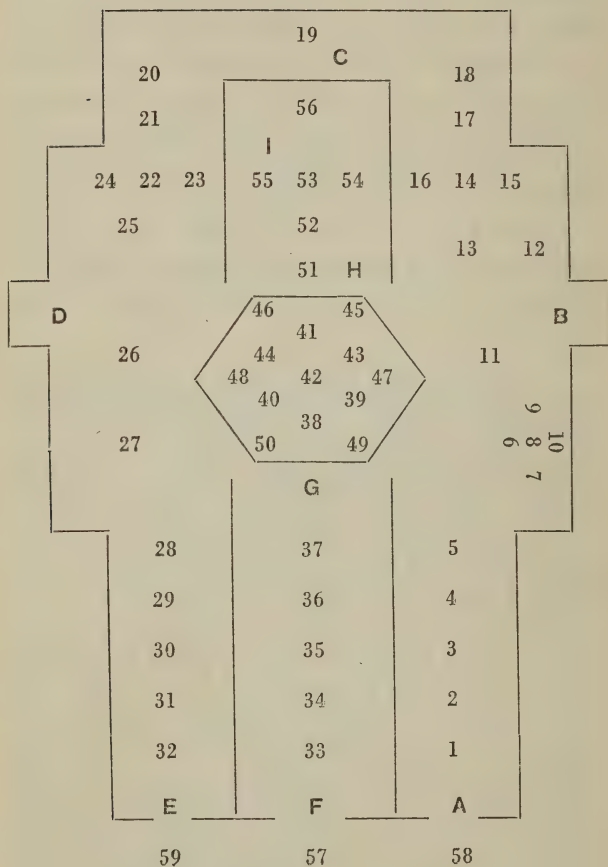
(2) Permission to examine those of the illuminations not exposed, is obtained with difficulty from the Rector of the Opera del Duomo.

(a) [This is apparently an old copy of Jacopo's relief of the same subject, forming part of the decoration of the Fonte Gaia.]

The execution of the famous **pavement** of the Duomo represents the labour of many centuries, commencing, as it did, directly after work on the original church had been resumed, and continuing to the present day. Constant, excessive, and oftentimes unnecessary, restoration has deprived many of the earlier designs of much of their original subtlety and refinement of line; others have even been entirely renewed or replaced by later works (1). Following the annexed plan, we commence with the right aisle (2) A. 1. The

(1) The limits of this *Guide* prevent me from entering into a detailed discussion of this unique feature of Siena's Duomo. Except in one or two instances, I give only the subject of the work, its probable designer—the execution was frequently carried out by another artist—and the date. I can not do better than recommend to the reader Mr. R. H. HOBART CUST's little book on *The Pavement Masters of Siena*, which, although modestly disclaiming all critical pretensions, is an admirable example of a handbook, quite indispensable to those interested in the history of the pavement.

(2) The earliest method adopted in the piecing together of the various figures or scenes was to incise the necessary lines for drapery, face, etc., in slabs of white marble, filling in the cuts with black cement. Later, an attempt was made to give relief to the figures by placing them on a dark background. Still later, again, it was thought that, for more complicated subjects, the simple black and white was insufficient, and coloured marbles were introduced in architectural accessories, and occasionally in some of the garments. The next and least successful process consisted in attempting a would-be realistic effect of chiaroscuro, by adopting dark marble for the shadows, and the last and modern method consists in misapplying the beautiful material by using it as one would a piece of drawing-paper—*i.e.* by scratching lines upon it for effects of modelling and perspective.



Delphic Sybil, 1482. **2.** The Cumean Sybil, 1482. **3.** The Cuman Sybil (Giovanni di Stefano), 1482. **4.** The Erythrean Sybil (Federighi), 1482. **5.** The Persian Sybil (Urbano da Cortona), 1482. **B. 6.** A modern reproduction of the Seven Ages of Man, executed by Federighi in 1475. This pleasing work can be better studied in the original now preserved in the Opera del Duomo. **7. 8. 9. 10.** Hope, Faith, Charity and Religion; modern reproductions of works originally designed in 1780. **11.** The Sacrifice of Jephthah (Bastiano di Francesco), 1483. **12.** The Story of Absalom (Pietro del Minella), 1447—a work remarkable for its decorative quality. **13.** The Emperor Sigismund Enthroned (Domenico di Bartolo), 1434—an interesting work by this Sienese exponent of the Renaissance—well composed, and noteworthy for its architectural details. **14.** Samson slaying the Philistines (Paolo di Martino?), 1426. **15.** Judas Maccabaeus (Domenico di Niccolò), 1424. **16.** Moses (Paolo di Martino), 1426. **C. 17. 18.** Temperance and Prudence, 1380? **19. 20.** Christian Piety and Justice, 1406? **21.** Fortitude, executed in 1406 by Marchesse d' Adamo of Como and other Comacene workmen (designer unknown). Despite all restoration, these five figures are among the noblest of the pavement. **D. 22.** Joshua and the king of the Ammonites (Paolo di Martino?) 1426. **23.** Joshua, 1426. **24.** Solomon, 1447? **25.** The Relief of Bethulia (authorship un-

certain—Francesco di Giorgio?—much restored), 1473?—interesting for its architecture as well as for its figures. **26.** The Massacre of the Innocents (Matteo di Giovanni), 1481 (1) —on the whole the most successful representation of movement which Matteo has left us; even more interesting than the main picture, in this respect, is the pseudo-classic frieze (*a*). **27.** The Expulsion of Herod (Benvenuto di Giovanni), 1485—a splendid and spirited composition. **E. 28.** The Albunean or Tiburtine Sybil (Benvenuto di Giovanni), 1483—the finest of the single figures of the Sybils. **29.** The Samian Sybil (Matteo di Giovanni), 1483. **30.** The Phrygian Sybil, 1483? **31.** The Hellepontine Sybil (Neroccio) 1483. **32.** The Lybian Sybil (Guidoccio Cozzarelli), 1483. **F. 33.** Hermes Trismegistus (authorship doubtful), 1483? **34.** Emblems of Siena and her allies (a modern copy of the only real mosaic pavement in the Duomo), 1375. **35.** A Wheel with the Imperial Eagle in the Centre, 1373? **36.** An Allegory of Fortune (Pintoricchio), 1504. **37.** The Wheel of Fortune (modern copy), 1372. **G.** The scenes beneath the cupola represent the Story of Elijah: **41.** Elijah's Sacrifice, **42.** The Compact of Elijah and Ahab, **43.** The Slaughter of the Prophets of Baal, **44.**

(1) This subject seems to have been a favourite one with the master. No less than three examples of its treatment are in Siena; a fourth is in the Gallery at Naples.

(*a*) [A truly remarkable performance!]

Ahab's Sacrifice, 45. Elijah sends Obadiah for Ahab, 46. The Meeting of Ahab and Elijah—all works designed by Beccafumi, 1518-1531. 47. Elijah fed by the Ravens, 48. Elijah anoints Jehu, 49. Elijah asks bread of the Widow, 50. Elijah raising the Widow's Son—free modern copies by A. Franchi of older works probably designed by Sozzini or Beccafumi. 39. Elijah predicts Ahab's Death, 38. Elijah carried to Heaven, 40. Ahab mortally wounded—original compositions by Franchi (a) which replace older works now in the Opera del Duomo (1). H. 51. Moses striking the Rock (Beccafumi), 1522. 52. Moses receiving the Tables of the Law on Mount Sinai, with five other scenes relating to the same (Beccafumi), 1531. 53. King David, 54. Goliath, 55. The young David—all three designed by Domenico di Niccolò in 1423. I. 56. The story of Abraham's Sacrifice and fourteen other smaller scenes from Old Testament history (Beccafumi), 1544-46. Outside the main entrances, 57. The Publican and the Sinner, 1448. 58. A Jar labelled *Lac.* (Milk) 1448. 59. A Jar labelled *Mel.* (Honey), 1448.

(a) [These academic modern designs contrast painfully with the imaginative creations of Beccafumi, into the midst of which they have been thrust, and one can but deplore the taste that has been responsible for the introduction into the pavement of such a discordant note.]

(1) The subjects of the earlier works were: 38. The Parable of the Mote and the Beam, 1374-75, 39. A Man giving alms to a Woman (Domenico di Niccolò?), 1422? 40. Two Blind Men (Federighi), 1459.

In the spaces in the three doorways are scenes representing the Ceremonies of Ordination (Nastagio di Guasparre), 1450 (a).

Over the southern entrance to the Duomo is a fine circular relief of the Virgin and Child by a close pupil of Donatello, often attributed to that master himself. The buttresses of the main and clerestory walls are crowned, on the south side, with a number of statues which once stood against the pillars of the nave. With the exception of the upper one to the right, which is of the school of Federighi, these are all works of the 14th, or beginning of the 15th, Century (b).

When Lando di Pietro's plans for the new Duomo were abandoned, a part of the structure which had already been erected was allowed to remain standing, and constitutes to-day the mass of unfinished work stretching away to the right of the church. What would have been the façade of this vast edifice faces toward the Via di Città. The two

(a) [A large portion of the pavement is now protected and at the same time hidden from view, during the greater portion of the year, by a board flooring, sections of which are lifted, at the visitor's request, by the custodian (fee). The compositions of Beccafumi, and the uninteresting modern designs of Franchi, are guarded with particular care, but not a few of the far more precious works of the earlier masters in different parts of the church—evidently looked upon by the Cathedral authorities as of distinctly minor importance—remain as yet uncovered.]

(b) [Two, at least, of these statues—those of the lower range nearest the façade—are very close to Giovanni Pisano himself in style. Others, again, are works of his later school.]

central round-arched windows with their Renaissance adornments seem to indicate that work was recommenced upon it, for a time at least, during the 15th Century. Part of this structure has been converted into the Cathedral Museum—the **Opera del Duomo**—and contains many objects of the greatest artistic interest. (If not at the Opera, the custodian is to be found in the Duomo; fee) (*a*). **Ground Floor.** The large hall contains many fragments of original sculptures once on the façade of the Duomo, together with remains of various other works which have been replaced by modern copies. The more interesting are in the main body of the room: six life-sized statues of Prophets and Saints, and figures of two Horses, a Bull, and a headless Angel (*b*), from the façade — To the left: (1st bay) reliefs of the Annunciation, San Bernardino in glory, the Angel of St. Matthew, by Urbano da Cortona; (2nd bay) a Roman sarcophagus-front, four busts of Prophets from the Cathedral façade (*c*), a flying Angel of the

(*a*) [The ticket of entrance to the Cathedral Library — as already stated -- now gives admission to the Opera as well.]

(*b*) [These are all works of Giovanni Pisano's close followers and assistants, executed, beyond question, under the master's supervision, and in the case of such figures as those of the Bishop Saint and the splendid headless Horse, probably by Giovanni himself.]

(*c*) [These busts and their companions in the following bays once occupied the two rows of niches above and below the rose-window of the façade, almost all of which are now filled by modern substitutes.]

Quattrocento, a kneeling figure of St. John, in coloured terracotta, by Giacomo Cozzarelli (a); (3rd bay) four busts of Apostles and four heads; (4th bay) Virgin and Child, four busts, two carved columns, a relief of the Symbols of the Evangelists by a direct follower of Niccolò Pisano; (5th bay) busts of Apostles, Virgin and Child of the school of the Pisani, clay figure of St. Jerome of the 15th Century, small figure of Saint: (6th bay) marble relief with decorative head of the school of Niccolò, Angels and Saint, two Apostles, two winged *Putti* or Boy Angels of the Quattrocento (b); (7th bay) marble Wolf and Twins from Piazza del Duomo; (8th bay) fragments. Arranged against the end wall are parts of the Duomo Pavement, including Federighis "Seven Ages of Man" and the design of a Renaissance candelabrum by the same artist; three fine marble panels, with decorative heads and foliage, of the school of Niccolò Pisano (c); carved capitals and other

(a) [This figure evidently once belonged to a group of the " Pietà, " and in all probability to that now in the convent of the Osservanza (see *postea*).]

(b) [Probably by Federighi. The two Trecento Angels are by Tino di Camaino, or an artist of his following.]

(c) [These three panels, together with the two mentioned above, are noteworthy productions of Niccolò's *bottega*, executed by sculptors very close to him in style, and would seem to date from a period not later than that of the famous pulpit of the Duomo. They apparently formed part of a screen or parapet. The panel of the Symbols of the Evangelists, which has been considerably altered from its former square shape, was discovered, face-downward, inserted in

fragments. Returning, the following objects on the right are noteworthy: (1st bay) three busts from the Cathedral front; (2nd bay) a Saint (Galgano?) of the late Trecento, mosaic rounds; (3rd bay) a 15th Century tomb-relief, four busts; (4th bay) columns, four more busts from façade; (5th bay) fragments and busts; (9th bay) terracotta bust of a bearded man, supposed to represent the preacher and revivalist Brandano — possibly by Federighi; (7th bay) fragments, a ruined marble Wolf and Twins of the 14th Century. Here are also to be seen various interesting gargoyles; fragments of the only portion of the Cathedral Pavement executed in real mosaic; samples of the different marbles found in the Sienese territory; reliefs of allegorical figures, from the original parapet of the Cappella della Piazza; carved pinnacles and other sculptural remains; two weather-beaten doors from the Palazzo Pubblico; examples of iron-work, etc. (a).

On the **second floor** is a large room filled with modern models and plans connected with the Duomo (1). Here are also preserved a number of the pavement of the Duomo, for which it had been used as material for repairs.]

(a) [The remains of Jacopo's Fonte Gaia, which long formed the principal attraction of this room, have, as has already been noted, been removed, to the Loggia of the Palazzo Pubblico (see *antea*, p... n...)]

(1) The accurate coloured drawing of the entire pavement will greatly assist the visitor who may not find himself in Siena during the month of August, when, only, the pavement is entirely uncovered.

ber of valuable old drawings, the more interesting being; (2 and 61) early ground-plans for the New Duomo: (16) a very pleasing original project for the Cappella della Piazza; (20) the design for the façade of S. Giovanni, by Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio (a); (33) a drawing for a portico which, early in the 16th Century, was suggested as an addition to the Piazza del Campo; (34) what may possibly have been Giotto's design for the Campanile of the Florentine Duomo (b).

Third floor. Ascending the stairs, we notice the carefully carved capitals of the pillars of the New Duomo, of which the present building occupies but a portion of what was to have been the right aisle. On the first landing is a polychrome wooden figure of a bishop Saint, of the end of the Trecento, and, on the wall above, a large painting (once an organ-screen) representing the Transfiguration, by Girolamo Genga — a strongly-drawn work of this little-known master. On the upper landing is an embroidered altar-front of the early 16th Century and, above it, a picture of the

(a) [That Jacopo was the architect of the Baptistery façade, or that this design is due to him, are traditions open to serious doubt (see *postea*).]

(b) [This is far more probably a design for a projected reconstruction of the bell-tower of the Sienese Cathedral, inspired, to a certain extent, by the Campanile at Florence. In this room is also now shewn a very remarkable little wooden Crucifix—formerly hidden in the sacristy of the Duomo—in all probability a genuine work of Giovanni Pisano.]

Baptism of Christ by Andrea and Raffaello Piccinni (Brescianini) (a). On the right wall of the Gallery itself hang the principal panels of Duccio's world-famous "Majestas" — not only the most important work in the annals of Sienese painting, but one of the most remarkable in the history of Italian art (1). This wonderful altar-piece—a mere detailed description of which would require several pages—has been so adequately and admirably criticised by Mr. Berenson in his "Central Italian Painters," that I cannot do better than to refer the reader to his pages (2), as well as to suggest repeated visits to the painting itself, which, in its glory of molten gold and splendid colour (b),

(a) [Here is also temporarily exposed the pleasing little panel of the Madonna. Child, and Saints, by Benvenuto di Giovanni, belonging to the church of S. Sebastiano in Valle Piatta (see *postea*).]

(1) When finished in 1311, the picture was destined to stand on the high-altar of the Duomo, exposed to view both from the nave and from the choir, and was therefore painted on both sides. It was sawed apart in later years, when removed from its original position. The large panel of the Virgin and Child with Angels and Saints once faced the nave; below it was a predella, and, above, various smaller panels referring to the life of the Virgin—all set in an elaborate frame. On the reverse were the twenty-six scenes connected with the Passion of Christ, and above and below these, other small panels depicting scenes from His life.

(2) See also pp. 179-180 *supra*.

(b) [It must be borne in mind that the present chromatic effect of the altar-piece, however sumptuous it may appear, is very different from what it once was. The various panels have been heavily varnished and the colour greatly altered by the process, the tones in most cases being lowered by many degrees.]

represents the very apotheosis of Byzantine art as well as the foundation of that of Siena. In the large panel to the right, Duccio has painted the Virgin and Child enthroned, in hieratic splendour, amidst a glorious company of Angels and of Saints. To her right are SS. John the Evangelist, Paul and Catherine, to her left the Baptist, Peter and Agnes. In the foreground kneel, to either side, the patron saints of Siena, Savinus and Ansanus, Crescentius and Victor. Above, half figures of the Apostles look out from within their niches. Among the smaller panels, of which there are some forty-four in all, (1) mention can here be made but of a few. Particularly noteworthy among those separately numbered which originally formed part of the pinnacles and predella of the altarpiece, and which now hang on the opposite (left) wall—are : the Presentation in the Temple ; the Journey into Egypt ; the Doubting Thomas. Among those which adorned what was once the reverse of the principal panel, I may cite : the Entry into Jerusalem ; Christ washing the Disciples' Feet ; the Betrayal ; Peter denying Christ ; the

(1) Six more, belonging to the series, are now in England—two, representing Christ healing the Blind and the Transfiguration, are in the National Gallery—four, depicting the Raising of Lazarus, the Miraculous Draught of Fishes, Christ and the Woman of Samaria, and the Temptation, are in the collection of Mr. Benson, also at London. Another (triple) panel, representing the Nativity and two Prophets, which formed part of the predella, is now in the Berlin Museum.

Crucifixion ; the three Marys at the Tomb (*a*). These scenes represent a few only of the more striking of these superb compositions and, indeed, to give the preference to any one above the others is both difficult and unfair ; each and all are worthy of long and careful study.

Turning to other pictures in this room, we find, near at hand, nine panels illustrative of the Creed, by Taddeo di Bartolo—careful in execution and imaginative in quality. Above them hang two oblong panels containing Saints, Prophets, and Angels, by a contemporary of Taddeo (*b*). Two quaint little wooden Cinquecento figures of torch-bearing Angels, perched on the frame of Duccio's " *Maestà* " are worthy of a passing glance (*c*).

(*a*) [Were we permitted a further choice, we should be tempted to include the panel of the Entombment, and that of Christ appearing to the Magdalen, among those calling for particular mention. The dramatic Deposition also merits a special word, despite the not wholly satisfactory grouping of some of its figures. The Descent to Limbo is, on the other hand, a beautiful example of a perfectly-balanced composition.]

(*b*) [These panels are by a painter closely related, in style to Paolo di Giovanni Fei.]

(*c*) [Two notable Madonna-pictures from the country church of S. Cecilia in Grevole, near Siena, now adorn the wall to either side of the " *Maestà* ". Although ascribed to Duccio himself, both are by anonymous artists of that master's school. The panel to the left, which is the earlier of the two, shews, in the type of its Virgin, a singular resemblance to the so-called " *Madonna Rucellai* " in S. Maria Novella at Florence. That to the right is a particularly fine work by the painter now generally known to students as the " *Master of the Città di Castello Altar-piece* ".]

The Birth of the Virgin (on the end wall) by Pietro Lorenzetti, painted in 1342, although much damaged, is beautiful both in colour and in composition, and is a fine example of the realistic tendencies of that master. It is rightly to be counted as one of Pietro's most noteworthy panel-paintings. On the corresponding space to the left of the door is a polyptych (1423) of the Madonna, Child, Angels and Saints, with a pinnacle-piece of the Assumption, by the favourite pupil of Taddeo, Gregorio di Cecco, a pleasing *rétardaire*. Beneath both pictures are hung samples of fine cut velvets. The left wall is occupied by eighteen of the dismembered panels belonging to Duccios altar-piece and by a cabinet containing, among other objects, two reliquaries and two gilt Crucifixes of the 14th and 15th Centuries. On the entrance-wall, to the right of the door, are: a Madonna and Child by a Florentine painter of the early Quattrocento; a carefully executed Crucifixion by Taddeo di Bartolo; and an interesting little picture by Giovanni di Paolo, of St. Francis appearing to St. Anthony in the chapter-house at Arles, which, curious to relate, is a direct copy of Giotto's frescoes of the same subject at Assisi and at Florence (a). To the

(a) [The picture is, so far as its composition is concerned, an almost literal reproduction, not of the fresco at Florence, but of that at Assisi (which, by the way, we cannot accept as a work of Giotto). The panel is remarkable as constituting one of the very rare instances of a Siennese artist deliberately copying the production of a foreign master.]

left of the entrance are four damaged, but beautiful, panels of Saints—early and notable works by Ambrogio Lorenzetti (*a*). Between them hangs a very interesting Italo-Byzantine picture of the Madonna and Child, in partial relief, of the early 13th Century. Near by, on a separate stand, is a series of panels—probably once the doors of a sacristy press—depicting the story of the True Cross, by a follower of Pietro Lorenzetti—wrongly attributed to that master himself (*b*). On the reverse of each panel are pleasing heads of Angels. A glass case in the middle of the room contains various objects of interest—three early pastoral staves (1) of ivory (the Annunciation on one of them is a Seicento addition); another gilt bronze staff with figures in *niello* and a gilded figure of S. Ansano; three rings, one of which belonged to Pius II; fine examples of *niello* cultery; a beautiful silver gilt relief of the Trecento—Christ in a *mandorla* of cherubs with figures of the Evangelists and the arms of Siena in *niello*; an Italo-Byzantine Crucifix of the Ducento; an enamelled figure from a Crucifix of the same

(*a*) [These panels, which are, in our opinion, late, rather than early, works of Ambrogio, have quite recently been ruined by a deplorable and quite unnecessary “restoration”.]

(*b*) [These are by an unidentified painter of the second half of the *Trecento*, not far removed from Paolo di Giovanni Fei in style.]

(1) One of which belonged to the Abbots of S. Galgano.

period ; a fine enamelled plate ; two chalices (one worked in *niello*) ; and a handsome helmet of the Cinquecento.

The adjoining room contains a number of later pictures, chief amongst which is a large altar-piece of the Virgin and Child surrounded by dignified Saints—an able work of Matteo di Giovanni. Below it is a damaged but interesting predella, likewise by Matteo, representing the Martyrdom of St. John ; St. Nicholas giving purses to the three poor maidens ; the Resurrection ; a scene from the life of St. Gregory ; and St. Jerome removing the thorn from the lion's paw. Near by is a large altar-panel of the Virgin and Child with Angels and SS. Bernardino and Anthony—one of the few surviving works of Pietro degli Oriuoli, a painter who enjoyed a considerable reputation during the latter half of the 15th Century. By Giovanni di Paolo is a characteristic picture of St. Jerome at his desk (*a*). A panel of St. Anthony of Padua is ascribed, probably with reason, to Balducci. By Beccafumi is a painting of St. Paul enthroned. In the centre of the hall is a long case containing handsome vestments and some superb samples of cut velvet. The door at the end of this room admits the visitor to the stairs which lead to the top the unfinished façade, whence a magnificent view of the city and the

(*a*) [Now hung in the stair-way.]

surrounding country is obtained (a).

On leaving the Museum, we pass to the right through a handsome Gothic portal (with a sculptured group of Christ and two Angels) (b) which would have formed a side-entrance to the New Duomo. Before descending the steps to S. Giovanni, we may visit the church of **S. Niccolò in Sasso**, at the entrance to the Via del Poggio, to the right (custodian at the Scuole Regie near by; fee). In this church is one of the less-known treasures of Siena, a painted wooden statue of St. Nicholas by a nameless follower of Jacopo della Quercia—one of the finest works of its kind, splendid in colour, untouched by restoration, and possessed of a strikingly noble dignity and beauty (c). Opposite S. Niccolò, at the head of the Via delle Campane, is the portal of the ancient

(a) [Worthy of notice are the two marble reliefs of the Saviour and the Virgin and Child in the lunettes above the doors opening on to the balcony of the upper window of the façade—characteristic works of Giovanni di Agostino, to whom they have been rightly ascribed by Dr. De Nicola.]

(b) Stylistic evidence points to Giovanni d'Agostino as the probable author of the lunette group here mentioned. As already noted, Giovanni succeeded Lando di Pietro as capo-maestro of the projected " Duomo Nuovo " in 1340.]

(c)] This truly admirable figure has been attributed by various critics to Neroccio—to whom it was likewise given by the authoress herself in the first edition of this guide. There can, however, be no question as to its direct connection with della Quercia's art. Although not by Jacopo himself—to whom also it has been frequently ascribed—it is certainly by a close follower of that great master, and dates from a considerably earlier period than that of Neroccio's activity as a sculptor.]

and suppressed church of S. Desiderio, with an interesting architrave of the XII Century. On the way to S. Giovanni, we notice, on the right, the mass of the **Palazzo del Magnifico**, built for Pandolfo Petrucci by Giacomo Cozzarelli (*a*). Near the bottom of the marble steps are to be seen, embedded in its wall, remains of Roman brick-work. The lower façade, on the Via dei Pellegrini, is adorned with Cozzarelli's fine bronze torch-holders. Within the courtyard are still to be seen several Renaissance doors and windows. The edifice has, however, been so mutilated that but a poor idea of its former appearance can be had. In the attic of one the upper rooms are remnants of ceiling frescoes by Pintoricchio—medallions with classic subjects, etc.—very charming, but to seen only with difficulty (*b*). The Palazzo Bindi-Sergardi, on the opposite side of the Via dei Pellegrini, contains a remarkable ceiling by Beccafumi, far surpassing in quality his later work in the Palazzo Pubblico.

As has already been stated, the construction of **S. Giovanni**, which replaced an earlier Baptistery situated in the Piazza del Duomo, was commenced early in the 14th Century. Its un-

(*a*) [This palace is, more strictly speaking, composed of a group of earlier buildings, fused by Giacomo into a somewhat amorphous whole. Portions of the Gothic edifices of which it is made up are still distinctly visible.]

(*b*) [These ceiling frescoes, which have remained unknown to the great majority of students, have recently been cut out and sold, in open defiance of governmental regulations and official inspectors.]

finished **façade**, designed by Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio, with its simple yet effective lines, is far more pleasing than that of the Cathedral above (a). In the pavement, in front of the three doors, are interesting representations in *graffito* of the Birth, the Baptism, and the Confirmation, of a Child (1450-1451), the middle subject designed by Federighi.

The **interior** (1), despite modern restorations,

(a) [The attribution of this admirable façade to Jacopo di Mino—accepted unquestioningly by writers on Siena—rests on a single document of payment to that artist (October 15th, 1382) “ per uno disegniamento che die a l’uopera della facciata di San Giovanni ” (Milanesi, Doc. Sen. I, 272). We cannot accept this entry as sufficient evidence for the attribution in question. Jacopo was a painter by profession and we possess no real proofs that he was a practising architect as well. The “ disegniamento ” of the above-quoted record may quite well have been an ordinary drawing undertaken for the Opera in co-operation with some architect, or a sketch for, or of, some detail. We have here, in fact, an instance in all probability similar to that which is responsible for Lippo Memmi’s supposed authorship of the crown of the “ Torre del Mangia ” (see *antea*, p. 229 n. 1). That the façade of San Giovanni, as it actually stands, is the work of two different periods, is evident, the three portals, together with some of the lateral ornamentation of the walls, being considerably earlier in date than the rest of the front. These portals may well go back to the period in which Camaino di Crescentino was *capo-maestro* of the Duomo. We know, from contemporary records, that work was being carried on in connection with this part of the Cathedral at that time (*ca.* 1317). The main portion of the façade, together with the Gothic ornament above the main portal, dates, however, from a much later period, although doubtless begun before 1382.]

(1) A word of praise is due to the keepers of this church for the care taken to preserve order and cleanliness within it.

is harmonious in effect, the chief centre of attraction being Jacopo della Quercia's celebrated **Baptismal Font**. This monument, although designed by the master himself, was in great part executed by his pupils (1416-1432) (1). The six gilt bronze reliefs which adorn the sides of the basin are the work of some of the most famous sculptors of the Quattrocento. By Jacopo himself

1 is the relief of the Vision of Zacharias (facing the apse)—a vigorous work, although somewhat poor in composition (a). The figures of Justice and Prudence, on either side, are by Giovanni di Turino. The next relief—the Birth of the

2 Baptist—is a joint production of the Turini family, while the figure of Fortitude is by Goro di Neroccio. The Preaching of the Baptist is another

3 creditable, but rather unequal, work of the Turini, and the following figure of Charity is again by

4 Giovanni. The Baptism of Christ and John before

5 Herod, are both celebrated works of the Florentine Lorenzo Ghiberti, the latter being one of the most dramatic creations which we have from that

(1) The sexagonal font itself, together with its base, was begun in 1416 and was executed by Jacopo's assistants' Nanni da Lucca and Sano di Matteo, and by Jacopo di Corso of Florence. The marble ciborium was commissioned in 1420 but was not completed until after Jacopo's return from Bologna in 1428. He was assisted in its execution by Nanni da Lucca and Pietro del Minella.

(a) [We find it difficult to account for such a restriction regarding the quality of this composition, which appears to us an excellent one.]

gifted master's hand. Even more strikingly dramatic is Donatello's Feast of Herod, which follows—a strongly naturalistic work, surpassing all the preceding reliefs in energy of expression. The sculptor's treatment of the architectural background is here particularly noticeable. The beautiful figures of Faith and Hope, to the right and left, are also by Donatello, the latter, especially, being a most gracious conception. The five noble marble bas-reliefs of Prophets (1) are by Jacopo della Quercia, as is probably the statuette of the Baptist which surmounts the whole work. Three of the charming bronze *putti* are due to Donatello, and the fourth (probably the one to the extreme left), to Giovanni di Turino, (2) by whom is also the Madonna in bronze on the door of the tabernacle.

The greater part of the **frescoes** on the walls and vaulting are by Vecchietta and his assistants (1450-1453). The master's hand shows itself most distinctly in those of the Evangelists in the vault-

(1) The authorship of these dignified and classic figures has recently been questioned, but a comparison of them with the reliefs of S. Petronio at Bologna will confirm my opinion that their traditional attribution to Jacopo himself is correct.

(2) One of the missing *putti*, evidently by Donatello, has recently been acquired by the Berlin Museum. Another, very similar in style, is in the Museo Nazionale (Bargello) at Florence. [The authoress is, we think, mistaken, together with not a few other critics, in her identification of the *putti* at present on the ciborium, only two of which (those to the right) appear to be by Donatello. The two to the left are evidently by Giovanni di Turino.]

ing next the entrance, in the scenes illustrative of four of the Articles of the Creed (1), above the Font, and in the finely decorative Assumption of the Virgin, on the face of the great arch. The bays to either side of the entrance were probably painted by a contemporary of Vecchietta, in whose work lingers, to a certain extent, the influence of Taddeo di Bartolo. The frescoes to the right of the Font are by Vecchietta and his pupils. Those to the left show, to a less degree, the master's participation but are certainly by a follower of his manner, and not by the Bolognese Michele Lambertini, to whom they have heretofore been ascribed on the strength of documentary evidence. The paintings on the wall to the left of the apse, representing two miracles of St. Anthony of Padua, are also by Vecchietta, who, judging by their style, was here possibly assisted by his pupil, Benvenuto di Giovanni. The architectural backgrounds in these works are especially interesting. The corresponding fresco on the right—Christ in the House of the Pharisee—is traditionally ascribed to the little-known Pietro degli Oriuoli (1489?) (a). It

(1) On the arches of this and the preceding vault are various allegorical and symbolic figures by Vecchietta's own hand, which are particularly charming in feature and in colour.

(a) [This painting has little or nothing in common with the one work of Pietro that is known to us and appears to be by a painter far closer to Pacchiarotti in style. Nor does it seem to answer to the date to which it is traditionally ascribed.]

is, however, difficult to believe that this painting can be by the same artist to whom we owe the altar-piece ascribed to Pietro in the Opera del Duomo. In the apse are a Flagellation and a Procession to Calvary, by Vecchietta. The Annunciation seem more the work of a pupil. The recess between the Angel and the Virgin is decorated with busts of Saints by Vecchietta himself. Above are three scenes from the Passion, the Agony in the Garden, the Crucifixion and the Entombment, by a contemporary of Vecchietta, generally ascribed, on documentary grounds, to Guasparre d'Agostino, a painter concerning whom little or nothing is known. The small and almost obliterated medallions below these works are also worthy of attention. The greater number of these frescoes have been so damaged and restored that much of their original character has been lost, and it is not always easy to distinguish Vecchietta's own handiwork from that of his assistants. Nevertheless, looked at in detail, they still contain much to reward a careful examination. In a room adjoining the sacristy is a coloured wooden statue of the Baptist—an excellent work of the school of Jacopo della Quercia (1).

From the Piazza di S. Giovanni, the Via

(1) Recently removed from the neighbouring oratory of the venerable Compagnia di S. Giovan Battista e S. Gennaro (entrance in the Via de' Fusari), where are to be seen some bier-heads of the school of Sodoma and Beccafumi.

Franciosa leads to the former convent of the Gesuate, now a hospital for foundlings, and to the small church of **S. Sebastiano in Valle Piatta** (1), erected in 1507 (?) by Domenico Ponsi. It is built on the plan of a Greek cross surmounted by a cupola, and for elegance and simplicity of proportions, and interior space-effects, ranks among the best Sienese buildings of the Renaissance. The interior decorations, by various Sienese artists of the Cinquecento, are exceptionally effective. The sacristy contains: a Madonna with SS. Jerome and John the Baptist, by Matteo di Giovanni, in his peculiar "grey" manner (much damaged) (a); a smaller Madonna between SS. James and Jerome, by Benvenuto di Giovanni (b); and a sadly repainted picture by Guidoccio Cozzarelli. From the Via di Valle Piatta, a steep causeway, the Via del Costone, leads down the hill to Fontebranda. The shrine half way down the slope commemorates a famous vision of St. Catherine. The view of the massive apse and foundations of S. Domenico from this picturesque point is a fine one. The pleasant Via del Fosso

(1) Generally known as the church of the Innocenti, and now used as the oratory of the Contrada della Selva.

(a) [This painting, which is one of the master's finest Madonna-pictures, has—to the shame of the *contrada* to which it belonged—recently been sold to the Uffizi Gallery at Florence.]

(b) [This charming panel has been temporarily removed to the Opera del Duomo, as has already been noted.]

di S. Ansano (1) leads from the church of S. Sebastiano to the Via Baldassarre Peruzzi, past the back of the Hospital.

We may return to the Piazza del Duomo by the steps going up beneath the arch opposite S. Sebastiano. To the left is the **Bishop's Palace**, rebuilt in the Gothic style early in the 18th Century. In the wall to the right of the entrance is a marble slab traditionally pointed out as the tomb-stone of Giovanni Pisano (2). The entire south-west side of the Piazza is occupied by the **Spedale di Sta. Maria della Scala** (3). The

(1) At the beginning of the street is a tablet recording the tradition that St. Ansanus was here placed in a cauldron of boiling pitch and oil from which he escaped uninjured.

(2) This stone bears the following inscription: *Hoc est sepulcrum magistri Ioannis quondam magistri Nicolai et de ejus eredibus*, and may originally have been intended to mark what was to have been the master's last resting-place. There seems, however, little doubt that he was actually buried with his father in Pisa. [The exact date and place of Giovanni's death are alike unknown. The latest notice which we have of the master is one of 1314, in which year he was in Siena. It is by no means improbable that he died and was buried in that city.]

(3) The legend which ascribed the foundation of this famous institution to the Blessed Sorore has been set aside by modern authorities, and it is now generally accepted that the hospital owed its origin to the 11th Century. It was established by the Canons of the Duomo, who then lived together like monks and were obliged to devote a part of their revenue to the assistance of the poor. In time the governing power passed from their hands into those of the laity.

Like the Duomo and the Palazzo Pubblico, the Spedale can boast a long history of its own. For centuries it served as a lodging house for pilgrims, as well as an asylum for the sick and the poor. The names of two of Siena's greatest

former Gothic façade has undergone many changes, and has lost, among other things, a masterpiece of painting which once adorned it—a large fresco by the Lorenzetti (*a*).

Within the entrance, to the left, is the marble tomb of Jacopo Tondi, by Giacomo Cozzarelli (1455). In a room to the right is a fresco of the Visitation, by Beccafumi. The adjoining room, now used as a first-aid surgery, is decorated with signed paintings by Cristoforo di Bindoccio and Meo di Piero (1370). Beyond, is the great hall known as the **Pellegrinaio**, decorated with famous frescoes concerning the history of the Hospital. That over the door on the right, the subject of which is somewhat doubtful, is by Domenico di Bartolo, and has been hitherto unnoticed by writers on Siena. The next three frescoes are by the same master, and represent the Marriage of Foundlings; the Giving of Alms; the Care of the Sick and Injured. The fresco

saints are intimately connected with its history—St. Catherine, who here made her daily and nightly rounds among the ill and dying, and S. Bernardino, who, together with his companions, distinguished himself by his heroic care of the plague-stricken during the terrible pestilence of 1400. Nor were these the only heroes that the Hospital has known—many another lesser saint has added his or her share to the record of self-sacrifice and devotion which makes the story of the Spedale what it is.

(*a*) [A number of the old Gothic windows of the façade have of recent years been freed from the masonry with which they had been blocked up, and now add greatly to the appearance of the front.]

opposite this last is again by Domenico di Bartolo and depicts the granting by Celestine III of the privilege which transferred the governing power from the canons to the laity. To the left is a work chiefly interesting as having been painted by Priamo, the brother of Jacopo della Quercia—the reception into the Hospital and the taking of the robe by a woman about to enter its service (a). Then another fresco by Domentico di Bartolo represents the enlarging of the Hospital with alms given by the Bishop. It is evident that, throughout these paintings (1440-1443), Domenico was attempting what was beyond his powers—a realization of the Renaissance ideals which, in Florence, had resulted in the decorations of the Brancacci Chapel. But, although he failed in the greater issues of his art, he has given us a picturesque and realistic idea of the life of the Hospital, and of the costumes and manners of his day. As a portrait-painter, also, he is not incapable (b), and his architectural backgrounds show a keen appreciation of Renaissance detail. Artistically more interesting than any of its companions is the adjoining fresco by Vecchietta, representing

(a) [The design itself of this painting is also no doubt by Domenico.]

(b) [Domenico deserves, as a portrait painter, warmer praise than this. Many of the heads in these frescoes are truly admirable, both in drawing and in characterization, and quite worthy of being classed among the best examples of Italian Fifteenth-Century portraiture.]

the dream of a devout woman, who saw a ladder reaching down from Heaven and little children passing up it—traditionally the reason for the institution of the foundling asylum attached to the Hospital. The ceiling is ascribed to Gualtiero di Giovanni (1439). The paintings on the arch are given to Paolo di Neri, but appear to be by a considerably later hand.

The most important of the other frescoes in the building are those which cover the walls and ceilings of what is now the **Deposito delle Donne** (a)—early works of Vecchietta, painted in 1448. Although hopelessly damaged, several scenes, such as the Annunciation and Nativity on the left wall, and the Last Judgment on the right, retain much of their original interest and charm. At the end of the room, below a later marble tabernacle, is a little-known fresco of the Virgin of Mercy (covered)—once an important work, and still a delightful piece of colour—by Domenico di Bartolo. The **Infermeria di S. Pio** contains a monochrome painting, the Prayer of the Beato Sorore, also by Domenico; and the **Infermeria di S. Galgano** a Crucifixion by Taddeo Bartoli. Further fragments of frescoes, of the 14th and 16th Centuries, have been uncovered, of recent years, in the men's ward at the extreme end of

(a) [Better known as the Infermiera di San Pietro.]

the hospital (a).

The adjoining church, which dates from the 13th Century, was rebuilt and enlarged toward 1466, on designs by Guidoccio d'Andrea. Over the high-altar is a bronze figure of the Risen Christ by Vecchietta, presented by him to the Hospital in 1477. Despite its excessive naturalism and study of detail, this work remains one of the superlative achievements of the Renaissance in the technical handling of bronze. The bronze Angels are much later works by Accursio Baldi of Monte-San-Savino (1584). High up on the right of the church is the splendid organ designed by Peruzzi (1) (covered). To obtain a view of its fine detail, one must ascend into the organ-loft opposite (2). The two gilt statues of the Annunciation, supported by consoles projecting from either wall in the middle of the church, are interesting works by an unknown artist of the XVI Century (wrongly ascribed to Cozzarelli). The ceiling is by Ventura di Ser Giuliano Pilli. The

(a) [Among these is a large fresco of the Trinity and Saints—now completely recovered—by Martino di Bartolommeo.]

(1) "The design is one which deserves most minute and careful study. It is more imaginative and capricious than anything else he produced, and suggestions of previous and future architectural work appear in many of its parts". W. J. ANDERSON, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy*, p. 118. The carving itself is mainly the work of Carlo d'Andrea Galletti.

(2) The design of this second organ is likewise attributed, traditionally, but without foundation, to Peruzzi.

basin of the holy water stoup is by Urbano da Cortona (1455). The small side chapel contains a good iron screen, an old Sienese Crucifix, and, over the altar, a much repainted Madonna by an artist of the late Trecento (*a*).

Below the Hospital are the chapels of certain Confraternities (entrance by door furthest to left; open until noon). In that of the **Compagnia di S. Caterina della Notte** (custodian in Via dei Pellegrini) is an attractive altar-piece of the Virgin and Child with Saints, by Taddeo di Bartolo (*b*). Here are also four bier-heads, wrongly ascribed to Benvenuto di Giovanni, and a pleasing marble statuette of the Virgin with the Child, by an anonymous sculptor of the Trecento. In the cell adjacent to this chapel, St. Catherine was wont to pray, and sometimes to rest, during the intervals of caring for the sick in the Hospital. Continuing down the stairs, we pass into a vestibule, to the right of which, in a room of the **Confraternità della Madonna**, is a small collection of pictures, many of which have been mercilessly "restored" of recent years. On the end wall is a large panel of the Madonna, with Saints and Angels, by an anonymous but not ungifted painter of the school of Pietro Lorenzetti. The

(*a*) [By Paolo di Giovanni Fei.]

(*b*) [This triptych (dated 1400) is the least-known, and also beyond question the finest, of Taddeo's surviving works in Siena.]

accompanying figures of SS. Peter and Paul were doubtless originally by the same hand (*a*). Four bier-heads, representing the Virgin of Mercy and the Adoration of the Cross, are by Guidoccio Cozzarelli. The central Crucifixion in a small triptych may have been a genuine work of Duccio, as may also the sides of a similar triptych, above, representing the Flagellation and the Entombment (*b*). Still another equally repainted triptych, of the Virgin with the two St. Catherines and other Saints, is by Fungai (*c*). On the left wall is a Madonna by Sano, the Christ in the pediment dating from the end of the Trecento. Below it is a dramatic little panel of the Saviour on the Cross with the two dead Thieves. Another and larger picture of the Virgin and Child, Angels and Saints, in a tabernacle frame, shows Sano in a different phase. The chief treasure of the collection is a fine painting by Benvenuto di Giovanni (1501), representing St. Catherine bringing Pope Gregory back from Avignon—notable alike for its figures and its landscape (*d*). Near

(*a*) [This triptych resembles, in style, the early work Luca di Tommé and of Bartolo di Fredi.]

(*b*) [These fragments, which, although almost entirely repainted in the coarsest fashion, may possibly once have been by Duccio's hand, are now reunited.]

(*c*) [The condition of this triptych renders the attribution to Fungai somewhat doubtful.]

(*d*) [The execution of this work appears to us to be in good part due to Benvenuto's son and assistant, Girolamo.]

by is a tabernacle in *niello* work (*a*). To the left is a gaily coloured St. Eustace, by a follower of Bartolo di Fredi (*b*). A Holy Family by Sodoma contains an exceptionally dignified Madonna and a pleasant landscape. The Dead Christ beneath is perhaps by Benvenuto (*c*). In the sacristy of the **chapel** opposite (opened by custodian; fee) are ruined but important monochrome frescoes of the Last Judgment, by an unknown follower of the Lorenzetti (1). The figure of Christ is now almost obliterated, but the groups of the Dead, rising from out of their tombs and sweeping through the air toward the Judgment Seat, are still left to us in part and are wonderfully impressive in the united impulse of their upward flight. The striking fresco of the Sybil appearing to the Emperor Octavius is by a painter closely resembling the dramatic Barna in style. An almost effaced John the Baptist is by Giovanni di Paolo. Here are also to be seen a little painting of Christ in the Tomb, by Sano, and a fine wooden Crucifix.

Returning to the Piazza di Postierla we follow, straight ahead, the **Via di S. Pietro**. On the left are three interesting Gothic palaces in brick, of which the graceful and elegantly pro-

(a) [The designs of the *niello*-work in this reliquary are by an artist very close in style to Andrea Vanni.]

(b) [Probably by Martino di Bartolommeo—a pupil of Taddeo.]

(c) [Not by Benvenuto, but by Sano di Pietro.]

(1) Possibly Paolo di Maestro Neri.

portioned **Palazzo Tegliacci** or Buonsignori (1) (much restored) ranks among the most pleasing of later Gothic buildings of Siena. At the turn of the street is **S. Pietro alle Scale** (*a*). The large canvas over the high-altar, by Rutilio Manetti (1621), is one of the more creditable works of the Sienese *seicentisti*. Above the 2nd altar to the right is a little Madonna-picture by Sano di Pietro (covered). In the sacristy are two small *tondi*, also by Sano: St. Lucy and the Angel of the Annunciation—the latter a veritable gem in colour, line, and movement. Here are likewise three coarsely repainted panels by a close contemporary of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, and a press with figures in medallions by a pupil of Benvenuto di Giovanni (*b*). In a room of the priest's house is a half-figure of Christ blessing by Giovanni di Paolo, and a Virgin and Child by a close follower of the Lorenzetti (*c*)—both much damaged and

(1) See p. 160 *supra*.

(*a*) [The interior of this church, although extensively remodelled and encrusted with Seventeenth-Century stucco-work, still retains, in great part, its primitive Romanesque form.]

(*b*) [These paintings belong in reality to a *predella* which has been adapted to serve as a backing to the press which they now adorn.]

(*c*) [This painting of the Virgin and Child is, together with the three panels referred to above, certainly by Ambrogio's own hand and doubtless once formed part of the same altar-piece. Although much damaged, it has been less badly treated than its companions. The gracefully-poised Virgin is singularly attractive in feature and expression, the vig-

repainted (1).

Retracing our steps to the Postierla, we follow the **Via di Stalloreggi**, the continuation of the **Via di Città**. In this street are the remains of some of the oldest Gothic palaces in the city—Nos. 4, 12 and 11 (2). At the corner of the **Via di Castelveccchio** is a frescoed **Pietà** by Sodoma—one of that master's better works (3). To the left of the **Arco delle due Porte** (b) stands the house in which **Duccio** painted his master-piece, now bearing a tablet to that effect (4). From the **Via Baldassarre Peruzzi** the quiet **Via del Nuovo Asilo** leads down to the **Porta Laterina**, and to

ourous Child highly characteristic of Ambrogio, the intimate welding of the two figures hardly less so.]

(1) It is perhaps needless to say that for the unveiling of pictures, the unlocking of sacristy doors, and similar services, a small fee is invariably expected. Churches are usually open until noon, and from three or four o' clock until sundown, but are generally opened at other times by the custodian upon request.

(2) See p. 160 *supra*. The last-named building possibly occupies the site of a once celebrated palace of the Longobard counts.

(3) This fresco has perhaps been saved from the fate of other equally important works, in similiarly exposed positions, by the timely initiative of an English admirer of Sodoma, Mr. R. H. Hobart Cust.

(b) [The **Arco delle Due Porte** (reconstructed in the 16th Century) stands on the site of one of the old town gates of Siena and has preserved its ancient name.]

(4) On the right, in a covered shrine, is a fresco of the Virgin, Child and Saints, by Peruzzi.] On the wall to the right, immediately outside the gate, are the damaged remains of a fresco of the Madonna, which was once evidently a work of Duccio's school.]

the new Via delle Scuole, which commands a charming view. In the Via Baldassarre Peruzzi (No. 24) is an unfinished façade which shows close affinities to Peruzzi's style. The present church of the **Carmine**, with its well-proportioned campanile (1) dates from the early 16th Century. The convent (now used as barracks) is said to have been founded as early as the 8th Century. It contains, in the further cloister, the famous Pozzo della Diana (2). Within the church itself (a), over the 2nd altar to the right, is an early Madonna (b), let into the centre of an uninteresting canvas by Francesco Vanni. Over the 4th

(1) Certainly not by Peruzzi.

(2) The Diana was a subterranean stream supposed to have existed beneath the city, and for which the Sienese often searched in their need of water. Purgatorio XIII, 153.

(a) [The interior of this church has recently been restored, "all'uso antico", on the model of San Francesco and the Baptistery, with the result that it has been deprived of all character and every sentiment of age. It is more than regrettable that the mistaken zeal of certain local "lovers of art" should be permitted to undertake similiar "restorations" of churches which, despite the changes and alterations which they may have undergone in past centuries, have yet preserved, up to the present day, a certain dignity and charm which time only can bestow. Were such restorations limited to the mere removal of discordant details or to the carrying out of urgent and necessary repairs, we should be less inclined to criticism. Nothing, however, can excuse the complete and deliberate transformation of church interiors in such a style and taste as have been here adopted.]

(b) [This panel—a Sienese work of the 13th Century and one of the most interesting of its kind—now hangs on the wall to the left of the entrance to the Cappella del Voto.]

altar (a) is an Ascension of Christ, an early but well-composed work of Girolamo del Pacchia showing the influence of both Perugino and Pintoricchio, although the painter's own pronounced individuality is clearly marked in many of the heads (b). Above the entrance to the adjacent chapel is a pleasing Madonna, in fresco, of the 14th. Century (c). Over the altar within hangs a Nativity of the Virgin, by Sodoma, particularly poor in composition and disagreeable in colour. The head of the woman in the foreground is, however, one of Sodoma's most pleasing types (d). A small Italo-Byzantine Madonna (covered) stands upon the high-altar (e). To the left is Beccafumi's celebrated St. Michael (f). Despite all that has been brought against it by the modern and

(a) [The late Renaissance altars which formerly adorned the church have been removed and Pacchia's picture now stands above the second altar to the left (from the main entrance). Its fine frame has been freshly re-gilt and left untuned, in full accordance with the taste that has directed the restoration of the building.]

(b) [This is one of the earliest, as well as one of the most pleasing, of Pacchia's identifiable works, and clearly shows the influence, not only of Perugino and Pintoricchio, but of Fungai and Pacchiarotti.]

(c) [This fragment, by a close follower of Pietro Lorenzetti, has since been cut out and immured in the wall to the right.]

(d) [A fresco of God the Father, likewise by Sodoma, has of recent years been freed from whitewash in the pediment above the altar.]

(e) [This little Madonna, which is a purely Byzantine work, now stands, in its silver frame, on the first altar to the left.]

(f) [Now above the second altar to the right.]

fashionable detractors of Beccafumi, this work is certainly possessed of true dramatic feeling, and in its composition, its masterly handling of light and shade, its treatment of form, and even in its peculiar colour, is not unworthy of much of the lavish praise bestowed upon it by Vasari and Peruzzi. The strangely beautiful angels are particularly characteristic of its author (*a*). In the finely proportioned sacristy is a statue of St. Sigismund—a poor and damaged work by Cozzarelli.

Opposite the church stands the **Palazzo Celsi** (Pollini), one of the most perfect buildings of its time, an authentic and highly interesting work of Peruzzi, especially noticeable for its refined proportions and its handsome cornice. It contains three much-restored ceiling paintings, also by Peruzzi. Beyond the palace, the *Via della Diana* and the **Via di S. Marco** lead to the **Porta S. Marco**, where there is a shady little park with splendid views. On the way we pass, in the *Via S. Marco*, the entrance to the church of **S. Paolo**, rebuilt, in the 17th Century, by Flaminio del Turco, and containing a large picture of the

(*a*) [Mention may here be made of a fragmentary fresco of the Virgin, high up on the right wall—evidently a remnant of the early decoration of the church (end of 13th Century). In the niche of the first chapel to the right, a large fresco of the Assumption of the Virgin—by an artist very close to Paolo di Giovanni Fei—has recently been brought to light (the figure of the Madonna unfortunately ruined). The Saints in the thickness of the arch, to either side, are later works by Girolamo di Benvenuto.]

Coronation of the Virgin by Andrea Brescianino. The neighbouring church of the Madonna della Visitazione is a *settecento* re-modelling of a much older building. Further down the Via S. Marco is the convent of **Sta. Marta** (now an orphan asylum), the simple façade of which is due to Anton Maria Lari (1535). The cloister contains remains of monochrome frescoes by a follower of the Lorenzetti, and the church a fine though damaged fresco of the Funeral of the Virgin, by a near pupil of Simone Martini. In the Director's office are two panels ascribed to Beccafumi (1). We may return from the Porta S. Marco by the quiet and pleasant Via delle Sperandie (2). At the end of that street is the church of **SS. Niccolò e Lucia**, which claims to contain an original fragment of Simone Martini's fresco over the outer gate of Camollia—the painting of the Virgin before which S. Bernardino paid daily homage. The work here shown (over altar to right) seems, however, to be excuted on paper or parchment, and is apparently an old copy of some painting by Lippo Memmi or Simone. In its present condition, rendered the more questionable by retouching, it defies conclusive criticism. Looked at from a distance, it is, however, wonderfully effective

(1) The lace-work made by the orphans of this institution may be of interest to lady visitors.

(2) The road passes beneath the entrance to the church of S. Paolo, already mentioned.

and expressive (a). Above the high-altar stands a fine statue of St. Lucy, ruined by the restorations of recent years, and in the sacristy a companion piece, a Bishop, which is far more satisfactory in its original colour—both by Giacomo Cozzarelli.

Returning to the Palazzo Celsi, we ascend the **Via S. Quirico**, which, together with the **Via di Castelvecchio**, leads over the highest and most ancient part of Siena (1). The tower next the old and picturesque (b) church of **Sant' Ansano in Castelvecchio** served, according to tradition, as the prison of St. Ansanus before his execution. To enter the church one must pass through the neighbouring convent—a school for girls. On the left wall is a fresco of the Quattrocento, representing the Epiphany, and a charming figure of St. Ansanus with a kneeling donor (c). Above the door is an interesting old glass window (d). Fur-

(a) [This coloured drawing (a head of the Virgin) is certainly a copy, dating possibly from the *Seicento*, and is, to all appearances, actually a replica of the remnant of fresco (see *postea*) still preserved above the Antiporto, or outer gate, of Camollia.]

(1) This district contains many old and picturesque buildings, and is well worth a visit.

(b) The picturesqueness of this ancient little church and its adjacent tower has unhappily been much diminished by recent tamperings and by the encroachments of the ugly modern building which now partially surround it, and which have done so much to destroy the character of this once charming section of Siena.]

(c) [These are both early works of Vecchietta.]

(d) [Fragments of the original Romanesque church, in the shape of a pier and capital, are still visible in the sacristy.]

ther on in the Via S. Quirico stands the church of **SS. Quirico e Giulitta**, with the remains of a Romanesque portal (1). There is a fine view from the priest's tiny garden, which stands on the summit of the old walls of the citadel. On the right of the Via delle Murella (Tommaso Pendola) is the former **Convent of Sta. Margherita**, now occupied by an Institute for Deaf-Mutes. The old refectory contains interesting frescoes by Fungai—the Last Supper, Gethsemane, the Betrayal, the Crucifixion—all of which show decided Umbrian influences. In the church of Sta. Margherita is a modernized, but still beautiful, statue of the Virgin and Child, by a close follower of Quercia. At the end of the street, on the left, remain vestiges of Roman brick construction. Turning into the **Via di S. Pietro**, we pass, on the right, the **Via de' Maestri** (Tito Sarrocchi), in which (No. 13) is a house once occupied by Beccafumi. In the **Palazzo Bargagli**, to the left of the arch, is a passage-way with remarkable arabesque decorations, wrongly attributed to Peruzzi. Beyond the arch, in the **Via delle Cerchia**, No. 3, is the Renaissance **Palazzo Finetti**.

(1) It may be of interest to note that the name of S. Quirico (although perhaps referring rather to a castello which included the church of that name than to the church itself) occurs in a deed of gift of 1079, when Count Raineri and his spouse Berta gave to the Sienese church, for the good of their souls, half of the *curtis* (corte) of S. Quirico.

In the square (1) stands the church of **S. Agostino**, entirely remodelled, so far as regards its interior, in the 18th Century, although the apse still bears traces of earlier 15th Century reconstruction (2). Over the 2nd altar to the right is a large Crucifixion (covered)—a late work of Perugino. Despite heavy varnish and restorations the painting preserves much of its original beauty; the quiet airy landscape, with a view of Lake Trasimene, is particularly lovely. The Chapel of the Sacrament contains a Massacre of the Innocents by Matteo di Giovanni, on the whole the most successful of that master's various representations of this painful but seemingly favoured subject. One can easily forget the realistic horror of the picture in the enjoyment of the beautiful colour, the fine flow of line, and the extraordinary decorative effect of the whole. To turn from such a tonic work of art to Sodoma's ambitious altar-piece of the Adoration of the Magi (3) (covered), requires a sen-

(1) Not content with changing the name of the Piazza, the municipal authorities have lately taken to "improving" it as they have other parts of the city, and with similar results.

(2) Founded originally in 1258, this church was frequently enlarged, and in part rebuilt, during the centuries which followed. It appears to have undergone a considerable transformation during the earlier half of the 17th Century and many of its present altars and decorations date from that period, having been retained at the time of the final remodelling of the interior, under the direction of the architect Luigi Vanutelli, in 1755.

(3) Originally painted for the Arduini family, it later

sible effort. However, the picture is not altogether unpleasing, although the inharmonious colour of the foreground, the visible defects in draughtsmanship, the coarse figure of St. Joseph, and the sentimental young king, detract from the pleasure we might otherwise receive from the fantastic and carefully-painted landscape (1). In the choir, set into the wall, is a remarkable altar-triptych representing the Blessed Agostino Novello, together with four episodes connected with his life, by Simone Martini—the only panel-painting by this master now to be seen in his native town (generally ascribed to Lippo Memmi or to Lippo Vanni). The figure of the Beato is treated with much realistic feeling, while the accompanying scenes of the saint's miracles are full of movement and vivacity. The whole picture is particularly fine in colour and execution (a). The polychrome statue of the Virgin and Child, in the apse, belongs to the early years of the Quattrocento. The high-altar, constructed on the plans of Fla-

became the property of the Piccolomini, to whom the chapel belongs.

(1) The gilt carving and benches in this well-proportioned chapel are worthy of notice.

(a) [This fine altar-piece has recently been removed to the sacristy, and is, we understand, now threatened by an imminent "restoration". It is to be hoped that it may at least be spared the coat of modern varnish which usually accompanies such an operation. As it stands now, the picture is remarkable for its exquisite dry colour and the virgin quality of its surfaces.]

minio del Turco, is a really notable example of early 17th-Century design. In the left transept is a statue of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, by Cozzarelli. In a room adjoining the sacristy are various fragments of frescoes, including an Annunciation by an anonymous master of the late Trecento (2). Outside the church, within the door to the right of the main entrance of the present Collegio Tolomei, are fragments of ceiling frescoes by Pietro Lorenzetti, among which is a noble half-figure of St. Catherine (a). The extensive and celebrated convent which was formerly attached to the church is now entirely occupied by the above-mentioned Collegio—a school for boys.

Opposite S. Agostino stands the small church of **S. Mustiola**, with a picturesque belfry (b) and containing a quaint picture by Andrea di Niccolò (1510) of the Madonna between the saints of the Shoemakers' Guild—Crispin and Crispinian. The **Via dei Tufi** leads to the gate of that name said to have been designed by Agnolo di

(2) The last chapel in the right transept contains some fine tiles of the 16th Century. See p. 195 *supra*.

(a) [These frescoes are nearer to Ambrogio than to Pietro in style. That Ambrogio painted an important series of works in the adjoining convent, we know from a graphic description left us by Ghiberti in his Commentaries.]

(b) [This church has been robbed of its former charm, like others of its kind, by recent "restoration". In this instance, the ruin has been wrought externally, the once warmly-toned brick walls having been coated with plaster and then painted to imitate their natural material.]

Ventura in 1325 (1). Descending the Via S. Agata from S. Agostino, we obtain a fine view of the Torre del Mangia through the neighbouring arch. The Via Giovanni Duprè leads down to the Piazza del Mercato. The church of **S. Giuseppe** offers little of note beyond its Cinquecento architecture and an interesting arched ceiling in the basement. The Via di Fontanella is a pleasant road leading to the Porta Tufi. In the suppressed chapel of Sta. Croce, beneath S. Agostino (now used as a gymnasium), are remains of frescoes by Sodoma.

Retracing our steps through the Arco di S. Agostino, we may reach the Piazza del Campo by the narrow and quiet, but once fashionable (2), **Via del Casato**, with its steep and picturesque side-streets. It still contains several buildings of interest, such as the Palazzo Pannilini, designed by Il Riccio (1548); N. 51, a small Gothic palace; 34, a typical private dwelling (restored); on the corner of the Costa Larga, a Renaissance palace with *graffito* decorations of the Labours of Hercules by Giacomo di Lorenzo (Il Capanna); 19, the Renaissance Palazzo Ugurgieri. In the courtyard of No. 9 is a fine hidden staircase of the Dugento, and, at the back of the palace, a loggia by some provincial imitator of Brunelleschi.

(1) Some charming walks through quiet lanes, with fine views of Siena and the rolling country toward Monte Amiata, may be taken from this gate.

(2) See BARGAGLI, *Novella V.*

TERZO DI S. MARTINO

At the eastern corner of the Piazza del Campo commences the **Via S. Martino**, which opens almost immediately before the **church** of the same name, rebuilt over an older edifice, in the middle of the Cinquecento, after the designs of Peruzzi's pupil, G. B. Pelori. The façade by G. Fontana, dates from the beginning of the century following, and, for the period, is exceptionally dignified and sober. Within the entrance, to the right, is a picture by Lorenzo Cini, painted in commemoration of the victory of Camollia (1). Over the 1st altar is a tabernacle containing a small Trecento Madonna (covered), probably by Bartolommeo di Nutino (?) (a). Above the next altar is a large picture of the Circumcision, by Guido Reni. The 3rd altar supports a ruined canvas by

(1) For some account of this battle see LANGTON DOUGLAS, *History of Siena*, p. 217; E. G. GARDNER, *The Story of Siena etc.*, pp. 213-215; W. HEYWOOD, *A Pictorial Chronicle of Siena*, pp. 82-86.

(a) [This picture is in reality by Naddo Ceccarelli. The authoress' attribution to Bartolommeo is, nevertheless, both consistent and acute, in that Naddo's most important work—the large polyptych, N. 115 of the Sienese Gallery—has long borne, and still continues to bear, an official ascription to Bartolommeo (see *postea*).]

Guercino in a marble frame of the Seicento erroneously attributed to Marrina. By that master himself, however, is the handsome marble frame opposite, enclosing one of Beccafumi's best pictures—the Nativity of Christ—highly imaginative in treatment but unfortunately much darkened. The composition of this work seems, apart from the weird ring of circling angels, to be a free transcription of Francesco di Giorgio's painting of the same subject in S. Domenico. Above the choir is a fine coloured glass window of the 15th century—St. Martin dividing his cloak with the beggar. The wooden statues of the Madonna, the Baptist, and three Apostles, are remarkable works by a close but unknown follower of Quercia. The beautiful statue of the Virgin, more especially, comes particularly near to Jacopo in style. The choir-stalls are of the 16th Century. The high-altar was designed by Giuseppe Mazzuoli, to whom are also due the figures of the Angels adorning it. The same artist is responsible for the two altars containing the statues of the Virgin of the Conception (likewise by his hand) and St. Thomas of Villanova (by Giovan Antonio Mazzuoli). In the old campanile are remnants of Trecento frescoes, recently uncovered.

The adjoining church of the **Misericordia**, No. 2², formerly part of a hospital for pilgrims, contains: a restored but notable statue of its patron, S. Antonio Abate, possibly by Cozza-

relli (*a*); two late Quattrocento wooden figures of the Virgin and the Angel Gabriel; and a pleasing picture of the Virgin and Child (covered) by Pacchia. In the meeting-room of the society are two more panels by Pacchia—St. Anthony Abbot and St. Paul (*b*); four bier-heads by Beccafumi—interesting works showing, to a certain extent, the influence of Sodoma; and two other damaged bier-heads by Cozzarelli. At the bottom of the stairs is a view of the adjoining cloisters and the brick campanile of S. Martino.

Nearly opposite the Misericordia, under the entrance arch to the former quarter of the Jews (the Via del Rialto), hangs a fine old iron lamp. We follow the Via S. Martino. Over No. 7 are the arms of the Piccolomini; No. 9 is another of Siena's most ancient palaces, still adorned with lions' heads; within No. 11 is a typical Trecento staircase, and next to the old well is still to be seen the stone on which the waterpot was placed; No. 33, once a Gothic palace, has later Renaissance additions; No. 42 is a well restored Gothic palace. On the way we pass the Piazza S. Giusto, with a column (1428) bearing an iron cage which was

(*a*) [It is difficult to determine the real author of this statue, the style of which, however, is hardly that of Cozzarelli.]

(*b*) [These two panels formed the later wings of a triptych of which the above-mentioned painting of the Virgin and Child constituted the central part. All the sections are now re-united.]

used to hold torches or fuel for illumination (1). The church of **S. Giusto** contains a much repainted picture by Sano di Pietro. In the picturesque **Via di Salicotto**, now one of the poorer parts of Siena, is **S. Giacomo**, the contrada-church of the Torre, built in 1531 and containing, in the sacristy, a picture of Christ bearing the Cross, wrongly attributed to Sodoma. At the end of the street, facing the Palazzo Pubblico, are remains of fine early Gothic palaces.

The Via S. Martino leads (a) to the church and convent of **S. Girolamo**, founded by the Beato Giovanni Colombini in the 13th Century and now belonging to the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul (ring at door to left; oblation). Within a niche in the cloister is one of Fungai's best works—a panel of the Assumption of the Virgin, damaged, but particularly temperate and pleasing in colour. The lateral frescoes are by a follower of Ghirlandaio. In the church, to the left, 2nd altar, is an interesting fresco of St. Jerome in his Study, by Pacchia, the side

(1) There exists a tradition that this cage or lantern served to hold exposed the heads of those decapitated. Another belief of the people is that the column formed the pedestal of an image venerated by the pagan Romans, and that the Sienese, when converted, turned the column upside down and buried the idol beneath it. *Misc. Stor.*, vol. I, p. 219.

(a) [At the corner of the Via S. Martino and the Via Pagliaresi is a pleasing relief of the Virgin and Child (re-coloured) from the *bottega* of Neroccio.]

saints being also by that master. The next altar supports a fresco by the same Ghirlandaiesque artist who painted the sides of the niche in the cloister (1), enclosed in a marble frame by Marina. In the aisle is the marble tomb-plate of Bishop Antonio Bettini of Foligno (1517). A statue of St. Catherine of Siena, in the gallery, is of the school of Cozzarelli. The sacristy contains a Coronation of the Virgin by Sano (1465) and an altar-piece by an anonymous painter of the early Cinquecento. The Via del Sole is another picturesque street leading down to the Piazza del Mercato (2).

The Via dei Servi leads to the splendidly situated church of **S. Maria de' Servi** (SS. Concezione) originally of the 13th and 14th centuries, rebuilt, in part, from 1471 to 1528 (3). The pierced campanile is very effective, as is also the spacious Gothic-Renaissance interior (a). At the

(1) This charming fresco, now shown as a Matteo, is attributed by the *Guida Artistica*—upon uncertain grounds—to a certain Fra Giuliano da Firenze.

(2) It was here, back of the Palazzo Pubblico, that state executions took place until the end of the 14th Century. The governors of the Republic then finding the cries of the tortured too insistent for their happiness, ordered that henceforth the condemned should suffer death elsewhere.

(3) The old church—dedicated to St. Clement—which first occupied this site, was given to the Order of the Servi by the Sienese in 1327, and was enlarged and in great part rebuilt during the century which followed.

(a) [Since the above was written, this church, like those of the Carmine and Fontegiusta, has fallen a victim to the

base of the tower, immediately to the right of the entrance, is a quaint fresco of the Virgin rescuing souls from the flames of Purgatory, by an unknown painter of the late Trecento. Over the first altar to the right is the majestic “ Madonna del Bordone ”, by the little-known Coppo di Marcovaldo of Florence (1261) (b)—a work

unholy mania for redecoration which seems to have become an epidemic in Siena. A goodly portion (*i. e.* the choir and both the transepts, together with the various transept chapels) of what was formerly one of the most peaceful and characteristic interiors of Siena has her been transformed into a gaudily painted enclosure fondly supposed to resemble a 14th Century temple and more worthy of a stage-scene than of a church. The general effect of this modernized section of the building is rendered yet more deplorably new by the modern glass and by the freshly gilt frames of the altar-pieces in which (as in the Carmine) not the slightest attempt has been made to tone down the brilliantly offensive gold. Apart from all questions of sentiment, it is difficult to understand how artistic errors such as these so-called restorations should be encouraged by the authorities appointed to watch over the destiny of Siena's buildings, unless, as would certainly seem to be the case, the lamentable taste of the promoters of these renovations be shared by the officials in question themselves.]

(b) [The attribution to Coppo rests on the authority of the MS. *Descrizione delle cose più notabili di Siena* preserved in the Biblioteca Comunale at Siena and dated 1625, the anonymous compiler of which asserts that the panel in question bore, in his day, the inscription: MCCLXI. COPPUS DE FLORENTIA ME PINXIT. The picture is said to have been painted by Coppo during his detention at Siena as a prisoner of war, after the battle of Montaperti—a tradition that may have owed its birth to the artist's nationality and the picture's alleged date.]

which, despite later changes (1), would certainly seem to entitle its author to a place of equal eminence beside his contemporary Guido da Siena (*a*). Above the last altar is a late version by Matteo di Giovanni of his favoured subject of the Massacre of the Innocents, painted, according to the inscription, in 1491. Although containing many remarkable details, this work is less satisfactory as a composition, and less successful in its presentation of movement, than is the picture in S. Agostino. The Madonna with donors, in the lunette, is also by Matteo. High up above is an interesting and characteristic panel of the Nativity by Taddeo di Bartolo (*b*). Over the entrance to

(1) The heads and flesh-parts and portions of the draperies of both figures were renewed by a painter of the school of Duccio. The little Angels in the upper part of the panel are, however, intact.

(*a*) [As it stands to-day, Coppo's picture is in a state almost exactly parallel to that of Guido's famous Madonna in the Palazzo Pubblico—*i. e.* it represents the work of two different generations of artists. But, although the repainting of the heads and flesh-parts of the two principal figures may prevent us from arriving at a really satisfactory idea of the picture's original effect, the execution of the draperies and of such other portions of the painting as have remained unchanged, reveals the hand of an artist who was technically as proficient as any of his Tuscan contemporaries. Unfortunately, the one authenticated work of Coppo's brush that has come down to us intact—the Crucifixion of the Pistoian Duomo (painted in 1275 in company with his son Salerno)—is, for various reasons, not completely representative of its author's powers.]

(*b*) [This picture, ruined by a recent and brutal "restoration", now hangs in the second chapel to the right of the choir.]

the sacristy, in the right transept, is the “Madonna del Popolo”, by Lippo Memmi—a work exquisite alike in sentiment and execution (*a*). The beautiful old frame, with its reliefs of singing and playing angels, is worthy of the picture it encloses (*b*). Still another much venerated picture is within the sacristy—the “Madonna del Manto”, by Giovanni di Paolo (with a repainted signature changed to Giovanni di Pietro) (*c*). Here is also a Virgin and Child of the school of Duccio (*d*). In the second chapel to the right of the choir is a large fresco (under whitewash until recent years) of the Massacre of the Innocents, by Pietro Lorenzetti—a strikingly realistic composition, with an interesting architectural background. On the wall near by is a damaged St. Agnes, by the same artist. The corresponding chapel, to the left, contains two frescoes of the

(*a*) [The gold ground of this beautifully executed panel has unhappily been renewed, spoiling the contours of the Christ-Child's head.]

(*b*) [Since its extraordinary and unexpected recovery, after having been stolen from the church some years ago, this painting has been set up on the altar at the end of the right transept. Not content with its old Quattrocento frame, the restorers of the church have enshrined it in a new and utterly unsuitable “Renaissance” tabernacle, blazing with fresh gold, thanks to which the effectiveness of the painting itself is in great measure lost.]

(*c*) [This strikingly effective but partially repainted panel is now above the altar of the chapel at the end of the left transept.]

(*d*) [This is a particularly fine work by Segna di Buonaventura and is now over the door leading to the sacristy, in the place formerly occupied by Lippo's Madonna.]

school of Pietro (possibly by the master himself), representing Salome before Herod and the Assumption of St. John—free copies of Giotto's frescoes in Sta. Croce at Florence—unfortunately ruined by modern restorations (a). Opposite this chapel hangs an admirably modelled Ducciesque Crucifix, wrongly attributed to Sassetta. On the high-altar stands a vast panel of the Coronation of the Virgin by Fungai, which, although well composed, is somewhat cold in colour and hard in design (b). Above the 2nd altar in the left aisle (covered) is the pleasing "Madonna del Beldere" by Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio. On the wall, to either side, are two figures of the Magdalen and St. Joseph, by Fungai. The handsome holy water basin, near the entrance to the church, is worthy of notice.

Behind S. Maria is the small church of the Confraternity of the **SS. Trinità** (1), whose walls are entirely covered with paintings by late Sien-

(a) [These hopelessly damaged paintings—which may well have once been genuine productions of Pietro—were freed from whitewash some thirty years ago. Although apparently betraying, on the part of their author, a knowledge of Giotto's frescoes in Sta. Croce, they can hardly be considered copies of those celebrated works, so markedly do they differ from them in composition and detail.]

(b) [As is the case with the panels by Lippo Memmi and Giovanni di Paolo already mentioned, the effectiveness of this painting is greatly marred by the untuned gilding of its new and splendid frame.]

(1) Custodian in the adjoining house.

ese artists (a). The building contains, however, two pictures of real interest—a small Madonna with Saints, by Sano (in the side chapel, covered), and (in the sacristy above) a Madonna with St. Michael and the Baptist, by Neroccio, wrongly ascribed to Francesco di Giorgio. The latter, although hardly one of the best of Neroccio's works, is a picture of great charm, the effect of which is enhanced by the fine old frame, with its predella of delightful *putti*. Descending the steps and turning to the right, we follow the *Via Romana* which leads to the gate, past the former monastery of **S. Niccoló**, now rebuilt as an Insane Asylum. The church contains four medallions of the della Robbia school, a very fine Crucifix on panel of the 13th Century, and one of the loveliest of Sano's early Madonnas (b). Above the **Porta Romana** (1)—a splendid example of a double fortified gate—is the wreck of a large fresco which represents the work of several hands. Commenced by Taddeo di Bartolo, continued by Sassetta (who is said to have caught his death by cold while working here), it was finished by Sano—and modern restorers have done the rest (c). A

(a) [The interior of this church is a notable example of baroque decoration.]

(b) [Recently spoilt by a wholly unwarranted "restoration."]

(1) As to the construction of this gate, see p. 170 *supra*. A description of the Roman tablet on the wall is given at p. 164.

(c) [A fragment of this fresco, representing three fig-

short distance beyond the gate is the former convent and church of **Sta. Maria degli Angeli** (1), rebuilt in the 15th Century. The interesting portal shows a combination of Gothic and Renaissance motifs. Inside is a signed and dated picture (1502) of the Virgin and Child with Saints, by the Florentine Raffaello de' Carli, enclosed in a frame carved by Antonio Barili. The church of S. Mamiliano in Valle contains an altar-piece by Sano (in the priest's house) (a) and a good reliquary attributed to Goro di Neroccio. Some distance further, along the Roman road is the Lombard church of **Sta. Maria di Betlem** (2), containing an interesting picture of the Madonna and Child, of the 13th Century.

We return by the **Via Romana** to the church of S. Galgano (3), attached to the brick convent of the **Santuccio** (b), still occupied by Augustinian nuns. The church contains an interesting

ures of Angels, by Sassetta, is now (No. 1842) in the National Gallery at London.]

(1) Sacristan at blacksmith's shop at bend of road, a quarter of a mile further on.

(a) [This altarpiece has since been sold, and is now in the Brooklyn Museum (U. S. A.)]

(2) See pp. 164-165 *supra*.

(3) Custodian at Via Romana 20, fee. In order to see the reliquary—shown through a grating—permission must be asked, by the custodian, of the Mother Superior. The most convenient hours are 8-10, 12-2, 3-5. The sisters expect a few francs as a donation to charity.

(b) [The church has recently been secularised and is now under the menace of being converted into a gymnasium. The convent itself is already in process of demolition.]

Nativity by a Flemish painter under the influence of Piero di Cosimo (a), two beautiful statues—the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate—by a follower of Jacopo della Quercia (b), and a superb Gothic reliquary of the 14th Century containing the head of S. Galgano—one of the most splendid works of its kind (c). Continuing up the Via Romana, we pass the garden of the palazzo Bianchi (d), on the wall of which is a pleasing marble tabernacle (1477), probably by Giovanni di Stefano. The street opposite leads to the **Ritiro del Refugio** (2) (Via di Fiera Vecchia 11)—once the Convent of Sta. Monaca and now a school for girls. The adjoining Church of **S. Raimondo**, now annexed to the above-named institution, contains one of the loveliest pictures in Siena—a half-length, all but life-sized, figure of the Madonna in prayer. This mysterious and deeply impressive work—evidently a Siennese creation of the middle

(a) [This picture is surely by Pietro himself.]

(b) [These graceful figures appear to be later than they really are, owing to the fact of their having been painted and re-gilded in the 16th Century. Their attribution to Neroccio—put forward by certain critics—is quite untenable. They are clearly the work of an artist of an earlier generation.]

(c) [This church also contains two fine carved gilt candelabra of the late Cinquecento—admirable examples of late-Renaissance design.]

(d) [The fine tall trees which formerly adorned the garden of this palace have for the greater part been ruthlessly cut down of recent years.]

(2) Permission to visit the church is courteously granted on the presentation of a visiting card ; fee to servant.

of the 15th Century, the exact authorship of which remains, however, a disputed question—merits a reverential pilgrimage on the part of every earnest visitor to the city (*a*).

In the rooms of the school are a Virgin, Child and Saints, by Fungai (*b*), and a repainted Crucifixion by Sano; and, in the director's room, in the neighbouring Palazzo di S. Galgano, another and very pleasing Sano—a Madonna, Child and Saints in its original frame. The **Palazzo di S. Galgano**, which faces on the main street, if not by Giuliano da Majano himself—to whom it is traditionally ascribed—certainly shows the strong influence of that master. On its façade is an almost obliterated sand-stone relief of San Galgano planting his sword in the rock of Monte Siepi (1). At the end of the Via Romana, which leads into the Via Ricasoli, stands another of the columns bearing the emblem of the she-wolf, placed there in 1470. To the left, above the fountain, are portions of the older wall of the city, with picturesque hanging gardens. The Via dell' Oliviera,

(*a*) [This singularly beautiful panel—beyond doubt one of the most deeply spiritual creations of all Siena's Quattrocento painting—is, to all appearances, a work of Domenico di Bartolo.]

(*b*) [This picture is not by Fungai, but by Pacchiarotto. Together with the panels by Sano, it has recently been removed to the neighbouring Palazzo di San Galgano.]

(1) The palace owes its name to the fact that it was formerly the property of the Cistercian Abbey of San Galgano.

on the right, leads past the Romanesque church of **Sta. Chiara** (1) to the **Porta Pispini**—a gate rivalling the **Porta Romana** in grandeur—above which are the remains of a fresco by Sodoma, in great part recently repainted. At an angle of the city wall, to the left, stands the only remaining bastion (restored) of the seven originally designed by Peruzzi, in the 16th Century, to strengthen the earlier defences of the town (2). A quarter of a mile beyond the gate, on the upper road, is the church of **S. Eugenia**, containing an admirable picture of the Madonna, Child, and Saints, by Matteo di Giovanni (covered).

Passing beneath the ancient **Porta S. Maurizio**, we notice, in an opening of the **Via Ricasoli**, a fine coat-of-arms of the Piccolomini, still retaining its original colour. No. 47 was once a Gothic palace with an ornate brick façade. The **Via dei Pispini** leads to the church of **S. Spirito**, (1498-1508) whose cupola, at least, was probably designed by Cozzarelli. That Cozzarelli was the architect of the building as a whole, is, however, open to doubt. The main partal may possibly have been erected after a design by Peruzzi.

(1) See p. 165 *supra*. This church, originally dedicated to SS. Philip and James, was built in 1219, but was partially remodelled in later times. It is now reduced to a military store-house.

(2) Permission to view the interior of this much restored work may sometimes be obtained of the chief of the Military Magazines of **Sta. Chiara**, who courteously allows visitors to enter.

Within the 1st chapel to the left is Matteo Balducci's most important picture—the Virgin in glory worshipped by Saints—clearly showing its author's derivation from Pacchiarotto, despite its general outward Umbrian feeling. The 2nd chapel and that opposite contain statues by Cozzarelli—of St. Vincenzo Ferreri and St. Catherine of Siena. Over the 3rd altar is an early work of Pacchia—the Coronation of the Virgin—far more interesting than many of his later efforts (*a*). On the side wall of the last chapel hangs a damaged but pleasing Virgin and Child with kneeling donor, by Andrea di Vanni. The sacristy contains a frescoed Crucifixion with a view of Pistoia in the background, by Fra Paolino, the somewhat heavy follower of Fra Bartolommeo, and a Coronation of the Virgin by Beccafumi (*b*). Here also are two coloured terra-cotta figures of St. Jerome and the Magdalen—evidently once belonging to a group of the Crucifixion—and another of a kneeling shepherd (*c*). In the Cappella degli Spagnuoli, to

(*a*) [This is, in many respects, one of Pacchia's most satisfactory works. Its firm drawing and strongly-modelled forms present a marked contrast to the peculiar softness which characterizes this artist's later manner, as we learn to know it, for instance, in his altar-piece in the church of S. Cristoforo (see *postea*).]

(*b*) [The picture by Beccafumi is now over the third altar to the right, in the church itself.]

(*c*) [The figure of the Shepherd (repainted) belongs in all probability to the group of the Nativity by Fra Ambrogio della Robbia in the chapel to the right of the main entrance to the church. The authorship of the other two

the right of the entrance, are frescoes by Sodoma (1530): SS. Antony and Sebastian—hasty and careless in execution; and St. James of Campostello riding down the Saracens. The poor figures of St. Nicholas of Tolentino and St. Michael may possibly be by Sodoma himself. The figure of St. Lucy redeems the lunette of the Virgin investing St. Alphonso. The Nativity in terra-cotta is attributed to Ambrogio della Robbia (1504) (a). Above the door is a large Crucifix by Sano di Pietro.

We return to the Via Ricasoli. The church of **S. Giorgio**, as it now stands, is mainly the work of Pietro Cremonini (1771). All that remains of the older church, which originally dated from the 11th Century, is the fine campanile, said to have been built in commemoration of the battle of Montaperti (1260). On the corner of the Via di Follonica is a cleverly restored stone tower. The road itself leads down through the fields to the poetic **Fonte di Follonica**. The not entirely successful façade (b) of the church of **S. Giovanni della Staffa** (in Pantaneto) (1) was designed (1563)

figures is questionable; they have been likewise ascribed (by Burckhardt) to Fra Ambrogio.]

(a) [The figure of the Madonna in this group is not the original one; the other figures are so heavily and coarsely repainted as to give but a faint idea of their original appearance.]

(b) [The faults in this façade are doubtless due, in part at least, to its restoration in 1879.]

(1) The name "*Pantaneto*—the slough", may perhaps help us to an idea of the normal condition of even the principal Sieneſe thoroughfares before the citizens resolved

by Pelori. In the atrium is a good terra-cotta statue of the Precursor, by Federighi. The walls of the church are covered with pictures by late Sienese artists. Over the altar of the adjoining chapel (covered) is a small and repainted Madonna of the 14th Century. This chapel also contains fragments of a fine majolica pavement of the 16th Century and some Cinquecento stalls of simple but good design. On the ceiling of the sacristy is an interesting little fresco by an imitator of Beccafumi. In the Via Ricasoli are several coats-of-arms on different palaces, including one of Julius II (Rovere) and one of Paul II (Barbo). Above the entrance to the Palazzo Tantucci (XVI Century) is a marble bust of Duke Cosimo de' Medici. The **Loggia del Papa**, designed by Federighi for Pius II, in 1492, in a typical example of Sienese grace and refinement as applied to a building of the Renaissance. Delicacy and lightness, however, have here been purchased at a seeming sacrifice of solidity and strength. The carved stone work and the elegant capitals, very worthy of attention, are by Federighi and his pupils. Beyond the Loggia, on the right, is the

to *fare mattonare le strade*--that is to say, to cause them to be "paved with bricks set vp edgeway", as our old friend Richard Lessels describes the operation. In the 13th Century there were plenty of other streets besides the *Pantano* with equally ill-boding titles; for example: *Mal-fango*, *Malborghetto*, *Malcucinato*—Compare ZDEKAUER, *La vita pubblica & c.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-37.

Palazzo Piccolomini-Clementini, with a row of monochrome heads of the 15th Century between the corbels of the parapet. Obliquely across the way stands the imposing **Palazzo Piccolomini** (del Governo) with its grandly simple façade and massive cornice. Commenced in 1469 by Porrina and others, on the designs of Bernardo Rossellino, it is not only the most magnificent Renaissance building of Siena, but one of the most important in all Tuscany—a worthy rival of its sisters in Florence and Pienza. The fine capitals of the columns within the courtyard, and other parts of the stone work, were carved by Marrina. The interior of the palace is now used, in part, as the repository of the **R. Archivio di Stato**—one of the best kept collections of Archives in existence. To visit them we ascend by the further stairs on the left. The custodian (fee) conducts the visitor through many rooms, containing shelves upon shelves of manuscripts, commencing with the simple roll of parchment (the earliest document is of 736) which later gave place to the bound leaves of the same material, for which paper was in part substituted as early as 1248. Many curious and rare bindings are here to be seen, from those of simple wooden boards to those of richly tooled leather, among them being the unique bookcovers known as the *Tavolette dipinte della Biccherna e della Gabella*—that is, the painted covers of the books of the Biccherna (in which office were received and

disbursed the revenues of the Republic), and those of the Gabella (the office charged with the collection of taxes). The books of these important magistracies were at first bound in boards, fastened with leather thongs, whose plain surfaces soon gave place to a series of painted decorations, the earliest of which consisted merely of the coats-of-arms of the members of the Biccherna or of the Gabella (1), or a portrait of either chief officer. Succeeding centuries added compositions of allegorical significance or others connected with the actual life of the city. It will thus be seen that the Tavolette possess not only an artistic interest but an historical one as well. Space forbids more than a mention of those of particular artistic value, and I recommend the visitor to Mr. Heywood's *Pictorial Chronicle of Siena* for a highly interesting account of their historical and political significance and of the offices for which these books were adorned. The Tavoletta of 1258, painted by Gilio di Pietro (?), is the earliest in date, and represents Frate Ugo seated at his desk as Camarlingo. This and others that follow, by predecessors and contemporaries of Duccio, rank among the earliest attempts at individual portraiture in the history of Italian art, properly so called. A Tavoletta of 1320—S. Galga-

(1) The officers of Biccherna consisted of a Camarlingo and four Provveditori, while those of Gabella were a Camarlingo and three, later four, Esecutori.

no plunging his sword into the rock—already shows the influence of Simone. Another of 1334—the Nativity—goes back to earlier models. The panel of the seated figure of Good Government, 1344, is by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, and that of the Circumcision, 1357, by a painter of his school. Pope Eugenius IV crowning Sigismund as emperor, 1433, and the St. Jerome in the Desert, 1436, are by Giovanni di Paolo—the latter a realistically delightful composition strongly influenced by Sassetta. A tavoletta of 1440—S. Pietro Alessandrino between two Angels—is by another follower of Sassetta, as is also the decorative St. Michael fighting the Dragon, 1444. The portrait of Ghino di Pietro Bellanti, Camarlingo in 1451, is by Sano, the two Beati following, of the year 1457, being likewise from his hand. Pope Pius II in the act of being crowned, with the Virgin in benediction above, is an interesting work of Vecchietta, 1460, and is doubtless an authentic portrait. Francesco di Giorgio, in the same year, painted the Pope about to bestow the Cardinal's hat upon his nephew, Francesco Todeschini. By the same master is the panel representing Siena as under the protection of the Madonna during an earthquake, 1467. A characteristic Tavoletta by Benvenuto di Giovanni, 1468, represents Peace and War—on the one side a group of citizens changing money, with Peace hovering overhead, on the other, soldiers of fortune receiving their pay, while above

them hovers the spirit of War. An allegorical panel, 1471—the “ Wisdom which emanates from God ”—is by Sano, as is also the charming picture, of 1473, portraying the Marriage of Lucrezia d’ Agnolo Malavolti and Robert of Sanseverino, the famous condottiere. Another allegory of the Government of Siena, 1474, is by Benvenuto. A Tavoletta of 1479 records the entrance into Colle Val d’ Elsa of the allied Sienese, Papal and Neapolitan troops (1)—an interesting composition, delicate in colour. The quaint and beautiful picture of the Virgin recommending to God her favoured Siena, is by Neroccio di Landi, 1480 (2). On the opposite wall is a panel showing the interior of the Cathedral, with statues against the columns of the nave and Duccio’s “ Majestas ” still above the high-altar—the scene represents a dedication of the city to the Virgin in 1483. A Tavoletta of the following year, by Cozzarelli, depicts the Presentation of the Virgin. The panel of the Madonna guiding into port the ship of the Sienese Commune, 1487, is by Fungai (*a*). One of 1489, the Esecutori, garbed as penitents, entreating the Madonna to enter Siena, is by Cozzarelli. In the following room are a few more covers of books of various offices. A Biccherna of 1421—the figure of a woman in blue—is a delicate work of the

(1) See p. 102 *supra*.

(2) See p. 236, note, *supra*.

(*a*) [This panel is by Cozzarelli.]

school of Taddeo. The cover of a book which contained notices of Sienese ambassadors from 1429 to 1439 bears a representation of two ambassadors on horseback, by Sano di Pietro. On the cover of an inventory of 1458, of the Opera di Sta. Maria (the Duomo), are the arms of that body, supported by two angels—a work of Vecchietta. The further rooms contain books of the Hospital with painted covers (one of them showing the Duomo as it was before the lengthening of the nave) (*a*), and books with miniatures: by Niccolò di Ser Sozzo Tegliacci (1334); by another follower of Simone and the Lorenzetti (1361); by Sano di Pietro (1472); and, in another room, an outline portrait of Gregory XII, of the school of Taddeo (*b*), and a parchment with a miniature by Cozzarelli (1). In the Sala della Mostra are exposed all manner of interesting documents, each bearing an explanatory label. They include Diplomas of many of the Holy Roman Emperors, Papal Bulls, documents—often bearing an autograph signature—connected with reigning princes,

(*a*) [Regarding the erroneous theory of the supposed lengthening of the Duomo, see *antea*, p. 262 note.]

(*b*) [In our opinion by Taddeo himself.]

(1) Among these miniatures, the most beautiful of all is that of the Assumption of the Virgin, by Niccolò di Ser Sozzo, in the celebrated *Caleffo dell'Assunta* (see page 196, note, *supra*). This *Caleffo*, the second of the five *Instrumentarii* of the Republic (see page 10 *supra*), is a magnificent parchment codex, written throughout by one hand, in very beautiful characters, and was compiled between 1334 and 1336.

illustrious men and women (including saints, artists, famous condottieri); and others bearing on the *Divina Commedia*. In this room is also preserved the *Testamento* or will, of Giovanni Boccaccio.

Opposite the Palazzo Piccolomini is the **University**, in the courtyard of which is an interesting tomb of the 14th Century—of the celebrated professor Niccolò Arringhieri—formerly in S. Domenico (1). At the corner of the Via Rinaldini we suddenly come upon a striking view of the soaring Tower of the Palazzo Pubblico. We return to the **Croce del Travaglio** by the Via Ricasoli, noticing on the way the splendid stone tower on the corner of the Via delle Donzelle, and, again, that on the left, at the end of the street. Here, also, we may remark a portion of the entrance façade of the gothic **Palazzo Sansedoni**, constructed by Agostino di Giovanni and his associates toward the middle of the XIV Century, the main front of which faces the Piazza del Campo.

(1) See p. 177 *supra*. This bas-relief forms a remarkable illustration to the method pursued by the humanists in the instruction of their classes, as described by J. A. SYMONDS, *Renaissance in Italy. The Revival of Learning*, (London, 1887), pp. 124-126.

TERZO DI CAMOLLIA

From the Croce del Travaglio the **Via Cavour** soon leads to the Piazza Tolomei (1). The severely beautiful **Palazzo Tolomei**, with its lion-guarded doors, is all that stands intact of the great houses of that ancient family, which formerly surrounded the entire square, including the church of S. Cristoforo. It once constituted what was known as the Rocchetta, or that portion of the Casa Tolomei which served as its principal point of defence. The building, as it now stands, dates mainly from the end of the 13th, and beginning of the following, Century. In the neighbouring Via del Re and Via Calzoleria are yet standing remains of massive Gothic

(1) The Piazza Tolomei is full of memories. In the old days, before the building of the Palazzo Pubblico, the Magistrates of the Republic were wont to hold their sessions in S. Cristoforo; while the parliament assembled in the square without. It was in S. Cristoforo that the *Twenty-four* were sitting when they received the Florentine ambassadors before the Battle of Montaperto, and it was thither that Salimbene de' Salimbeni brought from his palace the hundred and eighteen thousand florins of gold which he lent to the Commune to pay the German mercenaries. In this piazza, too, at a later date, Charles IV made his last stand (see p. 79 *supra*).

structures which probably formed a part of the family dwellings of the Tolomei. The column and wolf in the Piazza are modern reproductions, still bearing the arms of the family to whom the originals formerly belonged. The church of **S. Cristoforo** (entirely rebuilt in the 18th Century) (*a*) contains a large altar-piece—the Virgin and Child enthroned, with St. Luke and the Blessed Raimondo—by Girolamo Pacchia (altar to left, covered). A work of this master's later manner, it shows the direct influence of Fra Bartolommeo and is remarkable for its warm colouring. A panel-painting of St. Christopher, in the right transept, is by an artist of the first half of the 15th Century (*b*). Above the sacristy door stands a pleasing terracotta figure of S. Galgano, by an unknown sculptor. Within hangs a dimmed but finely decorative panel of St. George and the Dragon, traditionally ascribed to Salvanello—a painter of the 13th Century, of

(*a*) [The old church of S. Cristoforo dated, at the latest, from the 11th Century. In the court-yard behind the sacristy may still be seen a portion of the early stone apse and transept, with a Gothic brick superstructure below later baroque additions. At the extremity of the apse itself is a small sepulchral stone bearing the inscription: † S DEO DI CIECHO DI MISÈ ANGINLIERE, below which is a shield bearing three mitres—a tomb of a member of the Angiolieri family, not impossibly of Ceccho the poet himself. The church is connected with the Palazzo Tolomei by an ancient underground passage.]

(*b*) [This attractive panel is by one of the several painters generally known as Pellegrino di Mariano—a personality not to be confounded, however, with the real artist of that name.]

whose work no authenticated example has survived— but clearly by an artist of the Quattrocento (a).

In the **Via del Re** is a good example of a fortress-like medieval palace (now the Albergo Toscana—fine view of the tower and original walls from the Via della Calzoleria). Opposite stands a tower which formerly belonged to the Angiolieri, bearing an inscription to that effect (1). An alley further on to the left—the Vicolo del Castellare—admits us to a group of buildings which once formed the stronghold of the powerful Ugurgieri family—the only remaining *castellare* in Siena (2). The neighbouring church of **S. Vigilio** belonged originally to the Camaldolese monks, who also possessed a convent which once stood on the site of the present University which lies close by. In the 17th Century the old mediaeval church became the property of the Yesuits and was by

(a) [This delightful picture is by Sano di Pietro, to whom it was rightly ascribed for the first time by the authoress herself, shortly after the publication of this Guide (see *Rassegna d' Arte*, 2 Sept., 1904).]

(1) *Hanc domum cepit hedificare Angelerius Solafiche quando erat campsor domini pp. Gregorii VIII in a. d. MCCXXXIII.* The inscription is extremely interesting as carrying us back to the period when the Sienese bankers had almost a complete monopoly of the papal business (see pp. 39-40 *supra*). The Angiolieri of the inscription was either the father, or more probably the grandfather, of the poet. (See pp. 132-133 *supra*).

(2) For an account of how the Potestà was here besieged for two days by the Salimbeni, see pp. 41-42.

them entirely remodelled and rebuilt. The interior is decorated in the baroque style and contains some late bronze statues of interest. Straight ahead, in the Via Sallustio Bandini, stands the **Casa di Sallustio Bandini**, a pleasing and refined example of a Renaissance dwelling house, doubtfully attributed to Francesco di Giorgio (a). Near by, opposite the large Palazzo Bandini-Piccolomini, is the remnant of an old wall with projecting Romanesque lions' heads (1) (b). Turning to the left we notice the partly rebuilt exteriors of the Ungurgieri palaces (2). The baroque church of **Sta. Maria di Provenzano** (3), erected in 1594,

(a) [The façade of this house is certainly very close to Francesco in its style and reveals striking resemblances to some of the architectural details to be seen in the backgrounds of paintings by that master. Despite certain defects of which he, personally, would hardly have been guilty, we are inclined to think that the design for this front may well have been based upon a sketch by Francesco himself.]

(1) To the left, over an entrance to the Casa degli Esercizi, is a fresco of the Madonna with Saints, of the early Quattrocento, [by Martino di Bartolommeo.] The chapel of that institution contains a St. Catherine, by Girolamo di Benvenuto, and a Madonna of the school of Francesco di Giorgio.

(b) [This wall is in reality the substructure of the apse or choir of the original church of S. Virgilio; the lions are doubtless from the former portal of that building.]

(2) By climbing the staircase of No. 2 a good view of the *castellare* may be obtained.

(3) For some account of the district of Provenzano, and of the Madonna for whom the church was built, see Mr. HEYWOOD's *Our Lady of August*, chapter V.

by Flaminio del Turco, on the designs of Dom. Schifardini, has a spacious and well proportioned interior. The handsome high-altar is also a work of Flaminio. Below the church itself is the older Oratorio del Suffragio. The street to the left of the church leads to the Via dei Rossi, which in turn leads through an arch to the **Piazza di S. Francesco**, with a pleasant view of the Chianti hills. Over the arch itself are three statuettes of the Madonna and Saints Francis and Clara—good works of the school of the Pisani (*a*).

The site of the church and convent of **S. Francesco** was occupied by the Franciscan friars as early as 1236, and the present church was erected early in the 14th Century, the foundation ceremony taking place in 1326. The building has passed through many vicissitudes, the disastrous fire of 1655 having destroyed most of the famous monuments which once rendered it a second Sta. Croce, while subsequent baroque renovations completed the ruin. Some twenty years ago restorations were undertaken on the original lines, and, owing to the generosity of Siena's citizens, have been carried out, on the whole, not unsuccessfully (*b*). Although the bad modern glass

(*a*) [These statuettes are by different hands. That of the Madonna is fully worthy of Giovanni himself. The two Saints appear to be somewhat later in date.]

(*b*) [The system of pseudo-medieval decoration adopted in certain parts of the church has unfortunately furnished the model for the recent deplorable "restorations" of other church interiors in Siena.]

and the painted decoration of the chapels do not add to the beauty of the general effect, the visitor may here form an excellent idea of the original appearance of the great churches of the preaching orders—with their grandly simple proportions and spacious interiors (1). The façade of the church was, as usual, left uncompleted (a). Over the Renaissance doorway is a statue of St. Francis, attributed to Ramo di Paganello, but certainly a work of much later date (b). On and near the entrance wall are fragments of Gothic sculptures and remains of tombs. On the right wall is a repainted fresco of the Visitation, once by a contemporary of Taddeo Bartoli; further on is an altar niche with frescoes by another late Trecento artist, entirely renewed. On the opposite wall are fragments of charming bas-reliefs of the 15th Century—St. Francis preaching to the Birds (2) and the Vision of the Pope. The 1st chapel to the right of the choir contains a mysterious and hieratic Virgin (unfortunately much darkened) by Andrea di Vanni—wrongly attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti (c). In the

(1) The broad wall surfaces were, of course, originally covered in great part with frescoes.

(a) [The building is now adorned by a cold modern façade, erected, at a large expense, during the past few years.]

(b) [Now in the right transept of the church. The door-way itself has been immured in the left wall of the nave.]

(2) See *I Fioretti di San Francesco*, cap. XVI.

(c) [This solemn and monumental picture—evidently once the centre of a large altar-piece—is by far the most

adjoining chapel is Urbano da Cortona's masterpiece—the handsome tomb of Cristoforo Felici (1486) — clearly showing the influence of his preceptor, Donatello. On the left wall of the choir are marble busts of Silvio Piccolomini and Vittoria Forteguerri, by an as yet unidentified artist—all that remain of the monument erected to his parents by Pius II. The 1st chapel to the left contains a grand but damaged fresco of the Crucifixion, by Pietro Lorenzetti—one of that master's greatest paintings (*a*). In the 2nd chapel are two frescoes by his brother—the Martyrdom of the Franciscans sent to convert the Sultan, and St. Francis before Honorius III (*b*). The last-named splendid work

important of Andrea's existing works, and reveals a grandeur fully worthy of an earlier period of Sienese art. Its darkened but harmonious tonality is at present much disturbed by the brilliant and unlowered gold of its new frame.]

(*a*) [Although but a portion of a once considerably larger composition, this fresco still remains as one of the most poignantly impressive representations of its subject in the entire range of Italian painting. The spectator need but compare it with Giotto's celebrated painting of the same theme at Padua, in order to appreciate the vast dramatic superiority of this Sienese version. The broad handling and equally broad arrangement of this fresco are closer to Ambrogio's style than is the case with any other work by Pietro—so close indeed as almost to awaken a doubt as to whether we may not, after all, have here a creation of Ambrogio rather than of his brother. The types and forms are also singularly close to those of the younger master. On the other hand the intensity of feeling expressed in the various figures is wholly typical of Pietro.]

(*b*) [More probably St. Louis of Toulouse before the Pope.]

shows, beside its other merits, remarkable powers of individualization in its separate figures, which restorations have by no means destroyed (*a*). In the last chapel is much repainted Virgin enthroned, of the latter half of the 14th Century. A chapel opposite contains a restored *graffito* pavement, originally by Marrina. Over the lavabo in the sacristy (right transept) is a fresco of an Angel by Sodoma.

Above the altar of the adjoining **oratory of the Seminario** (opened by sacristan) (*b*) is a very beautiful Madonna nursing the Christ-Child—one of the loveliest panels of Ambrogio Lorenzetti (*c*). The fresco of the Virgin, Child and Saints in the form of a polyptych, on the side wall, is the work of a follower of Pietro Lorenzetti (*d*). In the **corridor** of the former convent—now a Seminary for priests—is a dignified and attractive

(*a*) [The authoress would have done well to have touched more strongly upon the pre-eminent importance of this fresco as an example of pure composition. In no other of Ambrogio's remaining works do we find his genius as a composer more clearly demonstrated or more admirably expressed. In its treatment of space, this fresco is far ahead of anything accomplished by contemporary Florentine art.]

(*b*) [Admittance to this Oratory is now gained by application to the care-taker at the entrance to the Seminary itself, in the cloister to the right of the church.]

(*c*) [The effectiveness of this fine painting is again much marred by an over-laden modern tabernacle, the bright gilding of which has been left quite untuned.]

(*d*) [This painting is probably by Lippo Vanni, to whom it has recently—and to our mind rightly—been ascribed by Sig. G. De Nicola.]

relief of the Madonna, and Child of the school of Federighi, erroneously attributed to Cozzarelli (1). The **refectory**, opening on the quiet inner cloister, contains remnants of frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti—the Risen Christ being a work of singular impressiveness. In the **reception room** is a fine panel of the Virgin and Child by Segna di Buonaventura (2). We leave the church by the graceful outer cloister, rebuilt in 1518. On the right stands a Gothic portal of 1336, which once gave access to the tomb of the Petroni—the work of a Sienese sculptor of the school of Agostino and Agnolo. The lunette contains a group of the Madonna and Child between two Franciscan Saints; the pilasters are crowned by figures of the Annunciation (a) Here are also, embedded in the walls,

(1) An old replica, in stucco, of this work, is to be seen in the Via de' Rossi, near the arch-way leading into the Via Cavour.

(2) The Rector's private room contains: a Madonna with St. Jerome and the Baptist, by a follower of Benvenuto di Giovanni; an entirely repainted predella of Judith, Delilah, and Esther, of the school of Sassetta [Giovanni di Paolo]; Christ bearing the Cross, by Beccafumi, enclosed in a handsome frame carved by the Barili (?), from the monastery of Lecceto. [Since our first correction of these pages, the pictures here described, together with the Madonna by Segna, and the remarkable "Pietà" by Vecchietta referred to in the following note, have been gathered together in a room of a modest "museum" which has recently been instituted on the first floor.

(a) [On the wall of a small cellar-like room, or vault, near this monument, a fresco of the "Pietà" has recently been brought to light. This damaged, but highly dramatic, work, is a notable creation of Vecchietta, and was first

various fragments of sculptures and some admirable tiles, saved from the wreck of the former church.

To the left of S. Francesco stands the chapel of the Confraternity of **SS. Gherardo e Ludovico** (custodian, Via delle Vergini 1). Within the cloister is a repainted frescoed Crucifixion of the end of the 15th Century (a), and in the meeting-room an attractive small half-figure of St. Louis, by Taddeo di Bartolo—a fragment of an altar-piece—very pleasing in colour. On the landing of the stairs are some fine old tiles, bearing the crescents of the Piccolomini. The **Oratorio di S. Bernardino** (custodian at No. 6) contains a number of works by Sodoma and by the Sienese eclectics. The panel of the Virgin and Saints, above the altar opposite the entrance, is a poor work of Brescianino. In a small room at the top of the stairs is a graceful marble relief (signed) by Giovanni d'Agostino, and, over the altar, a Madonna by Sano. The over-rated paintings of the oratory itself are far from satisfactory as decorations, the compositions in many of them being too crowded and the scale of the figures too large. The scenes illustrate the life of the Virgin. They commence on the left wall with her Nativity, by Girolamo del Pacchia, a work clearly showing the influence of Andrea

recognized as such, immediately after its discovery, by the authoress herself.]

(a) [By Girolamo di Benvenuto.]

del Sarto. Then follow the Presentation in the Temple, by Sodoma; the Marriage of the Virgin, by Beccafumi; and S. Bernardino, by Pacchia. On either side of the altar is the Annunciation—a fine work of the same master. The St. Anthony of Padua is also by him. The next fresco, of the Visitation, is a poor production of Sodoma. The Death of the Virgin, by Beccafumi, also adds little to that master's credit. The Assumption, on the other hand, is one of the best paintings that Sodoma has left us in Siena, the composition, remarkable to say, being here an excellent one, and the technical execution equal, and even conscientious, throughout. On the end wall is the same master's Coronation of the Virgin. The figure of the Virgin herself is here pleasing, but the fresco as a whole is far inferior to its predecessor. SS. Francis and Louis, on either side, are likewise by Sodoma. The painting above the altar is by Beccafumi. The handsome ceiling was ordered of Giuliano Turapilli in 1496.

From the **Via dei Rossi**, the Via del Comune leads down to the **Porta Ovale**. The contrada church of the Bruco, half way down the slope, contains a picture of the Trecento (a). In a hollow just outside the gate is the picturesque **Fonte Ovale**. Over the gate itself hangs an old painted Crucifix, and to the left (covered) is an attractive

(a) [By Luca di Tommè.]

fresco, by Sano di Pietro, of the Madonna with SS. Bernardino and Ansano—the fragment of a once much larger work. In the **Via di Vallerozzi**, opposite the church of S. Rocco, is a tabernacle containing a Madonna by Fungai (?). The church itself, used as the oratory of the Contrada della Lupa, contains late Sienese paintings and a colossal statue of its patron saint. Near by is the large Gothic **Fonte Nuova**.

Toward the middle of the Via dei Rossi, the Via S. Pietro Ovale opens before the church of **S. Pietro Ovale**. Within, on the right, is a beautiful free copy of Simone Martini's Annunciation, now in the Uffizi, by an artist of the early Quattrocento (*a*). The pinnacles above are by Matteo di Giovanni, as are also the two saints—Bernardino and the Baptist—which now form part of the triptych which adorns the opposite altar (*b*). The central panel of this latter altar-piece, representing the Virgin enthroned, is a fine work of Pietro

(*a*) [Together with Mr. Berenson we formerly considered this painting to be a late production of Andrea Vanni. We have, however, long since abandoned this, to our mind quite untenable, opinion, and have, for the past ten years at least, looked upon the picture with ever-increasing confidence, as an early work of Matteo di Giovanni. Our attribution is strengthened, quite apart from the evidence of the main panel itself, by that of the pinnacle-pieces, which are unquestionably in Matteo's early manner. By Mr. Douglas the Annunciation is given to Sassetta.]

(*b*) [These two Saints doubtless formed, at one time, wings to the panel of the Annunciation. They are, likewise, indubitable early works of Matteo.]

Lorenzetti (*a*). Above the door hangs a Crucifix by Giovanni di Paolo. The pedestals of the two holy-water basins are worthy of notice (*b*). In the sacristy is a panel of St. Peter, of the 14th Century (*c*); and, in a room of the priest's house, a pleasing Madonna by an early contemporary of Taddeo Bartoli (*d*).

Returning to the Via dei Rossi, we notice No. 20, with interesting terra-cotta work about the Gothic arches, and another square-set mediæval staircase within.

The Via dell' Abbadia leads to the piazza of that name and to the church of **S. Donato**, once the property of the Salimbeni (*e*). It contains a picture by Pacchia (over an altar to the left) (*f*),

(*a*) [Together with certain other works generally ascribed to Pietro, this painting betrays, in several of its details, a noticeable departure from that master's usual style—so much so, in fact, as to suggest the possibility of its being by another hand (see *postea*, under Galleria delle Belle Arti)].

(*b*) [In the chapel to the left of the high-altar, to either side of a large Crucifix, are two repainted wooden statues of the mourning Virgin and St. John—wrongly ascribed to Vecchietta—by an unknown artist of the early 15th Century.]

(*c*) [Now in the priest's house.]

(*d*) [This is a late work of Andrea di Bartolo, to whom it has rightly been ascribed by Mr. Douglas.]

(*e*) [This church, despite later alterations, still preserves its ancient Romanesque form. Traces of the same are to be seen even in the cupola, with successive Gothic and Renaissance additions. The fine Romanesque apse is still visible in the garden behind the church.]

(*f*) [Over the second altar to the left is now to be seen an interesting fresco of the Madonna and Child, by an anonymous follower of Pietro Lorenzetti.]

and, in the adjoining chapel of the **SS. Chiodi**, a characteristic Virgin and Child (covered), by Andrea Vanni. The high-altar of the main church, with its two attractive marble Angels, is the work of Giuseppe Mazzuoli. The sacristy contains two bier-heads by Sodoma. In a corridor of the priest's house is a damaged Madonna of the Trecento (*a*). The piazza affords us the best view of the fortress-like Palazzo Salimbeni.

We return to the **Via Cavour**, passing beneath what was once an interesting Renaissance loggia. To the left is the Palazzo Bichi, enlarged in 1520. Obliquely opposite stands the small Renaissance Palazzo Donati. No. 14 is a fine large Gothic palace. The handsome **Palazzo Spannocchi**, which is now occupied by the Post and Telegraph offices, was built for Ambrogio Spannocchi, the treasurer of Pius II, from the plans of Giuliano da Maiano, in 1470. The old façade faces the Via Cavour, whereas that on the piazza is a modern restoration. The adjoining **Palazzo Salimbeni** has been virtually rebuilt, on its old lines, and, together with the later **Palazzo Tantucci**, is now occupied by the Monte dei Paschi. In a room on the upper floor of the latter is an interesting

(1) This finely preserved picture is but a portion of a once larger panel, reduced, probably in the 18th Century, to its present oval form.

(*a*) [This picture — a full-length panel of the Madonna with the Child, very close to Andrea Vanni in style — has recently been placed in the main church, immediately to the right of the entrance.]

fresco of the Virgin of Mercy, in good preservation, by Benvenuto di Giovanni, painted in 1481. The saints to either side are mediocre works of a later and unknown artist, and the wolf and twins at each end, with the Lion and Balzana above, are apparently by Girolamo di Benvenuto.

Passing between two ancient towers, in the sides of which are remnants of what once formed the Northern Gate of Roman Siena (1), we reach, on the left, the little church of **Sta. Maria della Neve**, whose graceful façade, commenced in 1471, may possibly have been due to Francesco di Giorgio, to whom it is generally attributed, but is more probably a work of Antonio Federighi. Over the altar (key at barber's shop opposite) (2) is one of Matteo di Giovanni's most important pictures—the Madonna of the Snows (1477). The scenes of the interesting predella illustrate the legend of the foundation of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome. The Angels in the main panel are represented carrying snow-balls and bearing basins of snow in memory of the miraculous August snow-fall which marked out the site of the basilica to Pope Liberius. Nearly opposite the church is another sturdy tower. We follow the Via Cavour. The

(1) See pp. 163.

(2) On the other side of the road, to the right of the right of the shoe-maker's shop, may be seen one of the old bolts which were used to support the chains with which the streets were formerly barricaded in times of tumult—see page 63 *supra*, and note.

Palazzo Costantini with its simple façade and handsome portal, has been attributed to Francesco di Giorgio, but is probably due to one of that master's followers. The iron torch-holders are noticeable. The church of **Sant' Andrea** contains, in the sacristy, a dismembered altar-piece by Giovanni di Paolo (a). At the end of the Via Garibaldi a few steps to the left of the **Barriera S. Lorenzo**, stands the famous "Casa della Consuma", now quite prosaic in appearance, but during the 13th Century the scene of the wildest extravagance, when it was the meeting-place of the so-called "Brigata Spendereccia"—a society of twelve youths who, in three months, succeeded in squandering over four million lire (1). The church of the Confraternity of **St. Sebastian**, with an interesting Renaissance façade, once contained a famous banner painted by Sodoma—now in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence.

The Via Cavour becomes the **Via di Camollia**. The Via Campansi leads to the ex-convent of **S. Girolamo in Campansi**, now occupied as a

(a) [This characteristic triptych has recently been re-composed, and now adorns the high-altar of the church. Mention must here also be made of a fragmentary, but very graceful stucco relief of the Virgin and Child, which came to light some years ago and is now immured in the wall to the left of the entrance. It is evidently by some exceptionally gifted follower of Donatello. It has recently been tentatively ascribed to Jacopo della Quercia, but is clearly not even of that master's school.]

(1) See DANTE *Inferno*, XXIX. 155-132, and W. HEYWOOD: *The "Ensamples" of Fra Filippo*, pages 59-63.

poor-house. It still contains several frescoes (shown by attendant; fee). In the first cloister is a large and interesting Assumption of the Virgin, the choirs of Prophets and of Angels having been painted by Pietro di Domenico, and the remainder of the fresco by Balducci. On the second floor is a repainted work of Beccafumi—the Virgin and Child with St. Anna, St. Ursula and the Magdalen. In the adjoining dormitory is shown an Annunciation by Sano di Pietro (*a*), and a room of the officials contains a striking “*Noli me Tangere*”—preserved in its original brilliant colouring—by Girolamo di Benvenuto (*b*). The adjoining church of S. Girolamo, erected on the site of an older building in 1681, possesses a characteristic baroque interior (*c*). On the right of the Via Cavour are two houses with effective, though, in one case, misapplied, brick façades. Further on, to the left, is the church of **S. Bartolommeo (SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio)** with a pleasing belfry (seen only with difficulty from the opposite side of the street) dating from the end of the 14th Century. The fresco of Christ on the outer wall was one of the oldest in Siena,

(*a*) In small cupboard—originally in one of the upper corridors—is a well-preserved fresco of St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, by Girolamo di Benvenuto.]

(*b*) [This fresco has been cut from the wall and is now in the Accademia delle Belle Arti.]

(*c*) [This church is now closed and has been in great part dismantled.]

and was ruined by wholly unnecessary restorations of a year ago. The church, now used as the chapel of the Contrada dell' Istrice, contains a few pictures and the grave of Pintoricchio. In the sacristy is a banner with SS. Vincenzo and Anastasio next the Madonna, possibly by Fungai (*a*); in the church itself a charming Virgin and Child with Angels, attributed by Mr. Berenson to Vecchietta (*b*); a triptych of the school of Bartolo di Fredi (*c*); and, over the right altar, a repainted picture by Sano (covered).

An alley to the left leads, beneath an arch, to the church of **S. Maria di Fontegiusta**, built in 1484 by Francesco Fedeli and Giacomo di Giovanni, both of Como (custodian, house at right) (*d*). The relief above the entrance—the Virgin and Angels—is certainly not by Neroccio, to whom it is usually attributed, but appears rather to be a work of Urbano da Cortona. The beautiful marble altar within—the masterpiece of Marrina (1516)—is as remarkable for the almost excessive delicacy of its detail and execution as it is for its fine architectural proportions. Above it is a fresco by Girolamo di Benvenuto, of the Virgin

(*a*) [Closer to Andrea di Niccolò than to Fungai in style.]

(*b*) [This picture is certainly not by Vecchietta, nor is it any longer ascribed to that artist by Mr. Berenson. Its authorship is a problem that has so far remained unsolved.]

(*c*) [By a painter very close to Paolo di Giovanni Fei.]

(*d*) [The interior of this church was “ restored, ” in the approved modern Sieneſe faſhion, in 1904.]

surrounded by many Angels—a late and somewhat heavy work of that master. The small bronze holy-water basin was cast in 1430 by Giovanni delle Bombarde, the father of Girolamo del Pacchia. On the right of the church, over the 2nd altar, is a Coronation of the Virgin—a quiet and meditative picture, and a most characteristic work of Fungai. The fine bronze tabernacle is by Marri-na. On the opposite wall is a repainted fresco of the Sybil announcing the Nativity to Augustus, by Peruzzi. Exaggeration of form and gesture are the principal characteristics of this academical composition, which has received, from some writers, the most excessive praise. The stained-glass window above the entrance—a Madonna with SS. Catherine and Bernardino—is of the late 15th Century. For the sake of the curious traveller, we may mention the shield and whale-bones, traditionally said to have been presented to this church by Christopher Columbus. Before reaching the Porta Camollia, we pass a small church with a Gothic portal, **S. Pietro alla Magione** (1), once occupied by the Knights Templar. The adjoining chapel is a well-proportioned work of the early 16th Century. In the attic of the priest's house are remnants of frescoes by a direct pupil of the Lorenzetti. To the left of the church, embed-

(1) For an historical association, see page 31 *supra*.

ded in the wall near No. 77, is a Quattrocento bust of St. Peter. No. 67 is an excellent example of a small Trecento gothic palace.

The present **Porta Camollia** was built in 1604 (1). Beyond is the **Piazza d'Armi** (a), and the column which marks the spot where the Emperor Frederick III met his bride, Leonora of Portugal (2). The **Antiporto**, rebuilt during the late Seicento, was first erected in 1259 as a special defence at a weak point in the city's fortifications. Above this outer gate once stood a famous fresco of the Assumption, said to have been begun by Simone Martini and finished by Lippo Memmi (b), which was long a special object of S. Bernardino's veneration (3). In the valley to the West lies the Gothic **Fonte Pescaia**. Just beyond the Antiporto is the little church or oratory of **S. Bernardino**, possessing a characteristic altar-piece of the Madonna, Child and Saints, by

(1) The first public promenade stretched from this gate to the Antiporto (1309). *Misc. Stor. Sen.* vol. IV. p. 46.

(a) [The gardens and fields which, a decade ago, lined the road immediately beyond the Porta Camollia, have almost entirely disappeared, and this district has now become a rapidly spreading modern suburb.]

(2) The column appears in Pintoricchio's fresco of the event, in the Libreria del Duomo.

(b) [All that survives of this painting is a head of the Virgin now under glass and too high up to permit of its being properly seen from the road below. A late copy of this head is preserved in the church of S. Lucia (see *antea*, p. 320).]

(3) See p. 320 *supra*.

Paolo di Giovanni Fei. Half a mile further on stands the brick **Palazzo dei Diavoli** (dei Turchi) with a remarkable round tower adorned with medallions containing fantastic half-figures (*a*). The adjacent chapel is an elegant work of Federighi, the delicate yet vigorous terra-cotta frieze being especially worthy of note. A terra-cotta relief of the Assumption, within, is very doubtfully attributed to Francesco di Giorgio (*b*).

Retracing our steps, we leave the Via di Camollia by the Via Gazzini which opens upon the **Passaggio della Lizza**, the modern promenade of Siena (1). Beyond it we enter the **fortress** of Duke Cosimo I, whence we enjoy a view—particularly fine at sundown—of Siena with her towers and Cathedral, and of the rolling country bounded by a horizon of undulating hill-tops. The little church near the Via Gazzani—**S. Stefano**—contains a fine and characteristic polyptych by Andrea Vanni. On either side of the Virgin and

(*a*) [Some representing devils—whence the popular name of the building.]

(*b*) [Certainly not by Francesco, but in the manner of Cozzarelli.]

(1) The present authorities are rapidly turning the Fortezza and the Lizza into a monument to their own bad taste. It is time that those citizens who have the city's beauty at heart—and of these there are many—should make a strenuous effort against this spirit of vandalism. Even while I am writing, many of the noblest trees have been ruthlessly and unnecessarily cut down, the old turf has been cut up into gravel walks, and imitation rockeries are filling the former grassy corners.

Child are St. Stephen and St. James, the Baptist and St. Bartholomew; the interesting predella is a later adjunct by Giovanni di Paolo. The furniture of the sacristy is worthy of note. On the corner of the Via Malavolti stands the Palazzo Mocenni, with a façade by Pietro Cataneo, a pupil of Peruzzi. The Via Cavallerizzo leads to the Piazza Pianigiani (a) and the small church of **S. Caterina** (the oratory of the Contrada del Drago) which contains a bust of S. Catherine, executed by Marrina? in 1517. The Via del Paradiso leads to the **Camporegio** and the great brick church of **S. Domenico**. The severe yet majestic

(a) [This portion of Siena has suffered greater and more disastrous changes than any other part of the city. Little more than ten years ago the Piazza Pianigiani was a quiet and secluded spot bounded by the tall vine-clad walls of the old convent of the Cappuccine. To-day it is a barren and shadeless modern "square," surrounded by recently-erected buildings, some of which would be a reproach to the least gifted of amateur architects. The last of the old edifices to be sacrificed to these modern structures was the church of S. Egidio, which was destroyed but a few years ago, together with the remarkable remains of the ancient Romanesque church that had preceded it—foundations and remains which were in themselves an extraordinary example of the builder's craft and a veritable work of art—in order to provide a site for a new post-office. The old mediaeval tower at the corner the present "piazza" and the Via dei Termini—popularly known as the "Torre del Pulcino"—was another landmark which was among the first to disappear, and which was ruthlessly and quite unnecessarily torn down despite the efforts of the society of the "Amici dei Monumenti" to prevent this act of vandalism. Of the old Cappuccine convent and its walls not a vestige now remains.]

building dates in its present form from the 14th and 15th Centuries, being an enlargement of an earlier church which had belonged to the Dominicans since 1225. The present campanile has been considerably lowered since it reached its full height in 1490. The interior (*a*), marred by the usual 17th Century altars, once resembled that of S. Francesco (1). The walls are now entirely white-washed and all traces of the mural paintings which formerly adorned them have long since disappeared. Over the 2nd altar to the right is a picture by Sano di Pietro. Further on hangs a panel of the B. Caterina de' Lenzi, probably by Giovanni di Paolo. The **Chapel of St. Catherine** remains, to the majority of visitors, the most interesting part of this church. Its walls are covered by frescoes relating to her life, and the marble tabernacle encloses her very head—shown publicly on the occasion of some pertinent feast. The richly ornamented tabernacle itself is probably by

(*a*) [The interior of this church has of recent years been threatened with a modern "restoration" similar to those which have befallen S. Francesco and the Carmine. It is sincerely to be hoped, however, that it may be spared such a final disaster.]

(1) Like S. Francesco, this church also fell a victim, in 1531, to a violent fire, the damage necessitating a series of extensive repairs. The great window of the apse was probably blocked up at this period. The building underwent further restorations during the two centuries which followed. The roof was lowered during the *Settecento* and now unfortunately mars the full effect of the great arch opening on to the choir and transept.

Giovanni di Stefano. On either side of it are famous frescoes by Sodoma (1526), relating to St. Catherine's vision of Christ and her miraculous Communion. The group of the swooning Saint supported by her companions Alessia and Francesca, in the first of these two paintings, is worthy of much of the excessive praise that has been bestowed upon it, and shows what Sodoma was capable of when pressed to really exert his natural powers. How rarely this was the case, however, the remaining frescoes in the chapel go far to show. Even this would-be masterpiece is not without its obvious defects. The rich gilding and elaborate decoration of the pilaster behind the principal group is a grave artistic fault, and detracts in no small measure from the effect of the whole. The same charge may be laid against the pilaster to the left. The figure of Christ in the upper part of the painting is weak and defective. The fresco of St. Catherine's Communion is much inferior to its companion piece. That on the left wall, representing the execution of Niccolò di Tuldo, shows Sodoma at his worst. The painting opposite, by Francesco Vanni, representing a miracle of the Saint, requires no special mention. The Prophets and Angels on the arch are by Sodoma, and the figures of the Blessed Raimondo da Capua and the Blessed Tommaso Nacci—biographers of St. Catherine—are by Vanni. The interesting *sgraffito* pavement, representing Orph-

eus seated among wild beasts, was designed by a follower of Beccafumi (1).

Besides the head of St. Catherine, S. Domenico possesses several less important relics (preserved in the sacristy) such as: her portable altar-stone; the dispensation from Pope Gregory to have Mass said upon it wherever she went; the sacramental cloths she herself made for it; her discipline; and one of her fingers. Here is also a banner of the Assumption, painted by Sodoma.

Over the last altar on the right of the nave stands a remarkable picture of the Nativity, by Francesco di Giorgio—perhaps the most Florentine in feeling of all truly Sienese paintings. The lunette of the Pietà is by Matteo di Giovanni. The predella, representing a Vision of St. Catherine, the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, the Massacre of the Innocents, St. Dominic preaching, St. Mary Magdalen, is undoubtedly by Bernardino Fungai. The 1st chapel to the right of the choir contains a late 14th Century Madonna, let into a picture by Sodoma (a). In the 2nd chapel are the tombs of German students who died while studying at the University of Siena. The high-altar is crowned by a graceful marble ciborium, flanked by two light-bearing angels—works of the Florentine Benedetto da Maiano. A fine view of the Duomo is

(1) See Mr. CUST's *Pavement Masters of Siena*, pp. 147-149.

(a) [By Paolo di Giovanni.]

to be had from the window behind the altar (fee to custodian). The 2nd chapel to the left contains one of the masterpieces of Matteo di Giovanni (1479)—the exquisite panel of St. Barbara enthroned between the Magdalen and St. Catherine of Alexandria. The pure colouring and careful execution, the lovely heads of the saints, and the delicacy of its sentiment, render this picture an everlasting source of pleasure to all who know it. The fine lunette above, representing the Adoration of the Magi, is also by Matteo. Opposite is a painting by Benvenuto di Giovanni (1483) of the Madonna enthroned with Saints and Angels, and, in the lunette, a Pietà. Brilliant, if somewhat hard, in colour, and dignified and quiet in types, this picture shows the master to good advantage. The dismembered altar-piece in the next chapel, the Virgin and Child with Angels, St. Jerome and the Baptist, is another interesting work by Matteo (unfortunately much darkened), with a remarkable landscape (a).

Close to the entrance to the church is a chapel peculiarly sacred to St. Catherine—the **Cappella delle Volte**—unfortunately re-modelled in baroque times. In Catherine's day it was not

(a) [This too little known triptych is one of the finest of Matteo's works and deserving of far more attention than is usually given it. The group of the Virgin and Child, in the central panel, is particularly beautiful in composition and design.]

separated from the body of the church, as at present, and was always her favourite place of prayer. The original steps by which she entered are carefully preserved beneath a grating, and in the centre of the floor is still a piece of the original pavement. Against one of the pillars hangs an old inscription recording the various visions which here befel her. But most interesting, in this chapel of memories of the great Saint, is her portrait, above the altar, painted by her friend and disciple Andrea Vanni. Apart from its interest as an authentic, if somewhat generalized, likeness this work possesses no small artistic value, and is remarkable for its decorative feeling. Over the entrance to the chapel hangs a large Crucifix by Sano di Pietro.

In a hallway of the adjoining school—once a cloister of the convent—are fragments of a fresco doubtfully attributed to Lippo Vanni, a pupil of Simone Martini—a Virgin enthroned with Angels offering roses, and SS. Peter and Paul (*a*). The head of the Virgin is exquisite in conception and technique. Near by are the remnants of an Annunciation, and a head of St. Do-

(*a*) [The authoress it here quite justified in her doubts. This fresco is not by Lippo Vanni, but by Lippo Memmi. The attribution to Vanni refers, in reality, to the remnants of the Annunciation mentioned in the following sentence.]

minic (b).

A steep and rough path leads down below the apse and massive sub-structures of S. Domenico—the latter now occupied as cavalry barracks—to the quarter of the city known as **Fontebranda**, the home of St. Catherine, then as now permeated by the odour of tanning and dyeing. As we descend, we pass, on one side, the modern swimming bath and, on the other, the picturesque structure where the women gossip as they wash their clothes. To our left rises the celebrated **Fonte Branda**, whose delicious waters preserve their icy coolness throughout the hottest weather. Although mentioned as early as 1081, the fountain was probably first covered only in 1198, by Maestro Belamino, whose name, together with the date, are recorded on an ancient tablet now inserted in the wall of the fountain. His work was replaced, some fifty years after its erection, by the massive Gothic structure still standing, the event being recorded by another inscription, dated 1246.

Beyond the fountain the **Via Benincasa** leads up into the city. Half way up the street once stood the house where St. Catherine was born and spent the greater part of her life. On the

(b) [This fresco is said to have once borne the inscription: SEPTANTA DUE E TRECENT' ANNI DA SIENA QUI DEPINSE LIPPO VANNI. That the painting is in reality by Lippo, is fully confirmed by the type and character of the Virgin's head.]

site of her father's workshop—he was a dyer—an oratory was built in 1473, and in later years chapels were added where had been the kitchen, the family room, and the garden. The first chapel, which opens on the Via Benincasa, is now the **Oratorio della Contrada dell' Oca**. Its architect was possibly Francesco di Duccio del Guasta. Over the entrance are the arms of the city and those of the contrada—a Goose. The relief of St. Catherine with Angels is by Urbano da Cortona. Over the adjoining entrance to the right is a bust of the Saint by Giacomo Cozzarelli, to whom is also ascribed the double loggia above. Over the altar of the chapel stands a remarkably beautiful and dignified polychrome statue of the Saint, by Neroccio. The fresco of Catherine receiving the Stigmata is possibly by Girolamo del Pacchia (1). On the right wall are two other scenes from the Saint's life, by the same master: her rescue of Dominican friars assailed by robbers; her presence at the funeral of St. Agnes of Montepulciano, whose foot moves when she stoops to kiss it. The fresco opposite, representing her healing of the Rector of the Hospital of the Misericordia when stricken with the plague, is also by Pacchia. That next to it, of Catherine assailed by Florentine soldiers, is a later and less interesting work, by Salimbeni. Ascending the stairs we enter a

(1) The accompanying *putti* are by Sodoma.

second **Oratory**, the walls of which are covered with modern frescoes, by Franchi, again concerned with the Saint's life. Here is shown the little cell she occupied, and the window from which she gave bread to the poor. On the floor, beneath an iron grating, is her pillow of bricks, and in a case are preserved her scent-bottle for the sick, her lantern for visiting the Hospital at night, the head of her staff, a piece of her hair-shirt and her veil, and the sack in which her head was brought from Rome. Above the altar is a panel of the Stigmatization, apparently by Girolamo di Benvenuto. Leaving this chapel we reach a graceful little loggia generally attributed to Peruzzi, but more probably the work of some one of his pupils. On the left we are admitted to a third chapel, that of the **Confraternità di S. Caterina** (occupying the site of the former kitchen of the Benincasa family), the decorations of which, by late Sienese painters, are illustrative of further scenes from St. Catherine's life. The picture above the altar, representing her Stigmatization, in a fine architectural frame, is an attractive work of Fungai. The Saints at the sides are by the same master. The ceiling, and the pleasing tiles which pave the chapel (covered), are of the late 16th Century. The simple stalls are also worthy of notice. Still higher up, on the other side of the court, is the **Oratorio del SS. Crocifisso**, built in 1535, by G. R. Pelori (?). Above the altar,

enclosed behind wooden doors, is a remarkably impressive Crucifix of the early Pisan school—once in the church of Sta. Cristina at Pisa—before which St. Catherine is said to have received the Stigmata.

To the right of the Via Benincasa rises the sheer **Via della Galluzza**, one of the most picturesque streets in Siena, still spanned by many arches, some of them supported by stone columns with old Romanesque capitals. The steep Costa di Sant' Antonio leads up to the **Via delle Belle Arti**. The church of S. Antonio contains a coarse and much-damaged early wooden statue of that Saint. Near by, on the right, is the **Biblioteca Comunale**, founded in 1663. Here are exposed various manuscripts, and some good illuminated breviaries, missals, etc., among which are one by a Flemish artist of the 15th Century, another by Sano di Pietro, and others, again, by Giovanni di Paolo—these last particularly fine examples of their kind (*a*). The most-prized treasure, however, is a volume of the Greek Gospels, of the 11th Century, magnificently bound in covers of silver gilt with raised figures in enamel, probably of a later date. In the same case is a handsome Franciscan breviary of the 15th Century. The Library also possesses valuable sketch-books of Peruzzi, Giuliano di San Gallo and Francesco di Giorgio.

(*a*) [These miniatures are among the most delightful of Giovanni's works and merit careful study.]

Beyond the Library is situated the **Galleria delle Belle Arti**, the civic picture gallery of Siena, composed almost entirely of paintings of the Sienese masters, and forming one of the most satisfactory collections of a single school in existence (open, with the exception of Sundays (*a*), from 10 to 3 and 9 to 4, according to season; admission 2 lire). Unfortunately the rooms are, with few exceptions, much over-crowded and extremely badly lighted, while many of the most important paintings are hung in the most unsuitable spots. The pictures are arranged in great part chronologically. For reasons of space, mention is here made only of the more important works. The numbering followed is the new one, in red letters (1). Needless to say, the attributions in the following pages often differ from those of the official labels. The visitor will do well to commence with **Stanza I.** which is devoted to the work of Duccio and his immediate followers, and to the Italo-Byzantine painting which preceded the coming of that master. **1:** An altar-piece representing Christ, surrounded by Scenes from His Passion, painted on a surface of raised gesso. A good example of the native Italian work of the

(a) [The Gallery is now open, with free admission, on the morning of the first Sunday of each month.]

(1) I have to thank the director of the Gallery and his assistants for their kindness in hastening the renumbering of the pictures, that I might adopt the new enumeration in this Guide.

early 13th Century (dated 1215). **2:** An effigy of St. Francis, from the workshop of *Margaritone* of Arezzo—one of the many similar figures turned out by that craftsman and his school during the middle of the Dugento. **6** and **7:** Altar-pieces, of the time and school of Guido da Siena (*a*). **14:** Panel with a figure of St. John Baptist enthroned in royal garments, surrounded by scenes from his life—the most markedly Byzantine of all these early works, peculiarly oriental in colour and in types (*b*). **15:** A somewhat similar panel, with St. Peter as the central subject. Of the accompanying scenes, that of the Annunciation is particularly noteworthy for its successful representation of movement (*c*). Opposite, hung here for convenience, is a large Crucifix, **56.**, a fine work by *Taddeo di Bartolo*. **16:** Colossal Virgin and Child, if not by the artist known as *Guido da Siena*, at any rate typical of the work which he represents. This picture gives a far better idea than does the repainted Madonna in the Palazzo Pubblico, of what the painting of Guido probably was like (*d*).

(*a*) [These altar-pieces show a very close connection with the figures in the unrestored portions of Guido's altar-piece in the Palazzo Pubblico.]

(*b*) [Executed during the middle or third quarter of the century.]

(*c*) [This interesting and important picture is the work of an immediate predecessor of Duccio, and in many respects closely foreshadows that master's style.]

(*d*) [This is certainly the finest of all the various panels attributed, in Siena and elsewhere, to Guido, and is clearly the work of a superior hand.]

18: Madonna—clearly not by Gilio di Pietro, who lived in the middle of the 13th Century, but by a post-Ducciesque master (*a*). **20**: Small Virgin and Child with Angels and worshipping Monks, by *Duccio*—one of the master's earlier works, showing, at once, the immense superiority of his art over that of his Tuscan predecessors. Nothing could be more delicate than the colour and execution of this damaged little panel—nothing, again, more truly Byzantine in its feeling. The figure of the Virgin is particularly graceful, and the flow of her drapery exquisite. **21**: A Crucifix of the school of Duccio. **22**: Small and damaged panel of the Magdalen, by *Duccio* (*b*). **23**: The Baptist and St. Peter with Angels above, by *Duccio* (*c*). **28**: Altar-piece with the Virgin and Child, SS. Paul and Augustine, SS. Peter and Dominic; above, Christ blessing, and Angels with sceptres—a mature work of *Duccio*. **29**: St. Peter, **30**: St. Anthony Abbot, **31**: St. Augustine, **32**: St. Paul—all by a follower of Duccio. **33**: Altar-piece, a good school work (*d*). **35**: Small triptych with Scenes from the Life of Christ, by *Duccio*. This delicately coloured panel is one of the most

(*a*) [This picture appears to have been repainted by an artist of the early Trecento, over an earlier work.]

(*b*) [This little panel, which is likewise ascribed to Duccio by various other writers, is, in our opinion, a work of the master's school.]

(*c*) [Too damaged to permit of a conclusive judgment.]

(*d*) [Probably a fairly early work of Ugolino.]

interesting of the master's remaining works (a). **36:** A finely modelled Crucifix, by a direct pupil of Duccio, wrongly attributed to Massarello di Gilio. **40:** Madonna with St. Paul, the Evangelist and St. Bernard, a signed work by *Segna di Bonaventura*, one of the closest of Duccio's followers. **42:** St. Ansanus, **43:** St. Galganus; also by *Segna*—showing a slight divergence from Duccio's manner and that of *Segna*'s earlier works (b). **46:** Large Crucifix—a somewhat heavy work by *Niccolò*, the son of *Segna* (1345). **47:** Polyptych of the Virgin and Child with Saints, Prophets and Angels, a grand but sadly damaged work of *Duccio*. Especially noticeable are the lovely St. Agnes, the Prophet Daniel, and the Angels in the pinnacles. **48:** St. Francis, **49:** St. Louis—by a follower of Simone Martini (c). **50:** Polyptych, by a pupil of Pietro Lorenzetti. **51:** Large altarpiece, an admirably preserved work by a follower of Lippo Memmi and the Lorenzetti, wrongly attributed to Lippo himself (d). **52:** St. Paul. **53:** The Baptist—strongly characterized panels by

(a) [Although persistently ascribed to Duccio by most modern critics, we cannot accept this attribution. In our opinion a production not of the master himself, but of an early follower.]

(b) [These are not by *Segna*, but by a nameless follower of Ugolino. The central panel of the triptych of which they originally formed the wings is in the church of S. Giovanni Battista at Fogliano, near Siena.]

(c) [Very close to Lippo Memmi.]

(d) [This is, in our opinion, an early work of Luca di Tommè.]

Ambrogio Lorenzetti (*a*).

Stanza II contains several works belonging to the grandest period of Sienese art, although the most characteristic of Siena's painters, Simone Martini, is here conspicuous by his absence. **61:** Assumption of the Virgin (considerably damaged), by *Pietro Lorenzetti* (*b*). To judge of the splendid decorative effect of this hieratic picture, we should regard it from a distance. One of the earliest representations of this subject, which remained, throughout the the history of Sienese painting, a favourite one with her artists. **59**; A fine St. Gre-

(*a*) [In connection with this corridor, mention may also be made of: 587—full-length altar-piece of Madonna and Child ascribed to Guido da Siena; 4, 5, and 8, panels of the school of Guido; 24—Saint (fragment)—by Niccolò di Segna; 34—Crucifixion (the figure of the Magdalen a later adjunct)—very near to Ugolino; 39—Polyptych—by a nameless but able Ducciesque master, the author of a large altar-piece in the Gallery at Città di Castello; two panels of the Madonna and Child (as yet un-numbered—one ascribed to Duccio himself)—good examples of Duccio's school; 580—Coronation of the Virgin (on window wall)—a late and mannered work of Bartolo di Fredi; 578, 579—two panels of Saints (Agnes and Catherine of Alexandria)—very lovely works by Pietro Lorenzetti (from the former Convento delle Cappuccine). Several of the above mentioned paintings have been added to the Gallery since this Guide was published.]

(*b*) [This marvellously beautiful altar-piece, together with Nos. 59, 80, and 76, in this same room, the Madonna in the church of S. Pietro Ovale referred to on pages 361-362 n., and certain other pictures at Grosseto and elsewhere, form a group of paintings which differ in so many respects from Pietro's usual style as to justify a doubt as to their being actually productions of that master rather than of a separate artistic personality.]

gory, of the school of Pietro Lorenzetti (a). **60:** Small triptych of the Virgin enthroned, with interesting side-scenes, rightly attributed to *Bernardo Daddi*, a direct pupil of Giotto (1336)—an important little picture, healthy in colour and careful in execution. **65:** Small panel of the Virgin and Child, surrounded by Angels, SS. Catherine and Dorothy, and the four adoring Doctors of the Church, by *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*. This work is one of the most precious treasures of the Gallery, showing, as it does, all that is greatest and best in Ambrogio's art. The perfect composition in receding planes, the subtle modeling of the figures, the lovely colour—all go towards making this little painting a masterpiece of the highest quality. **67:** Triptych (exceptionally well preserved) of St. Michael with St. Anthony Abbot and the Baptist—a somewhat heavy, but not uninteresting, work of a follower of Lippo Memmi, erroneously attributed to that master himself (b). **77:** Polyptych of the Madonna, the Magdalen and St. Dorothy, the Evangelist and the Baptist, and, below, the Deposition—a noble work of *Ambrogio Lorenzetti* (c). The worshipping figure of the Magdalen and the hauntingly beautiful St. Dorothy

(a) [See preceding note.]

(b) [This painting has also been ascribed to Andrea Vanni, and, although not by his hand, is certainly by a contemporary not far removed from him in style]

(c) [Probably the earliest of Ambrogio's surviving works in Siena.]

are two of the finest of Ambrogio's creations. The damaged but effective panel of the Deposition, evidently a composition original with this master, was extensively copied by his followers and imitators, there being no less than three versions of it in this same room. **74**: St. Peter, **72**: St. Paul—by a close follower of Lippo Memmi (a). **70** and **71**: Two naïvely realistic seascapes, by *Pietro Lorenzetti* (?) (b). **73**: Centre of a triptych, Madonna with Saints and Angels, by *Bernardo Daddi* (c). **80**: Virgin and Child enthroned, surrounded by beautiful Angels, by *Pietro Lorenzetti*—a characteristic work still plainly showing the influence of Duccio (d). **76**: Madonna with two Angels, by a pupil of Pietro, closely resembling the preceding picture (e). **79**: The Baptist, **81**: St. Cecilia, **82**: St. Bartholomew—also by a pupil of Pietro (f). **92**: Allegory of Sin, from the Fall of Adam to the Redemption—a darkened and heavily varnished panel by *Pietro Loren-*

(a) [Apparently by Lippo Memmi himself.]

(b) [Surely by Pietro.]

(c) [Showing strong Sieneſe influence. Painted during a period of his development in which Bernardo was powerfully affected by Ambrogio Lorenzetti.]

(d) [This fine picture (cf. note a, p. 385)—one of the most important in this room—has recently been hung between the windows in ſuch a poſition aſto render it practically inviſible.]

(e) [Cf. note a, page 385.]

(f) [By Pietro himſelf The panel of St. Cecilia bears the remains of the maſter's ſignature.]

zetti—especially remarkable for its landscape (a). **88**: The Annunciation, by *Ambrogio Lorenzetti* (painted in 1344). A very beautiful work of this master, intensely passionate in feeling, and sumptuous in its golden colour. **89**: St. Antony Abbot, **91**: St. Maximin, by *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*. **87**: and **95**: Two Prophets, by a follower of Lippo Memmi. **85**: The Baptist. **86**: St. Catherine, **93**: St. Paul, **94**: The Evangelist—delicately painted works of an artist very near to Lippo Memmi in technique and in style. **83** and **84**: Parts of a predella which probably belonged to a picture executed for the church of the Carmine, in 1329, by *Pietro Lorenzetti*. **100**: Four scenes from the Life of the Virgin, which, together with the surrounding paintings—**101**: the Assumption, **99**: Predella, **97**: and **102**: Pilasters ornamented with figures of Saints—formed part of a large polyptych painted for the church of S. Francesco in Montalcino, by *Bartolo di Fredi*, in 1388. Pleasing works, quiet in sentiment and gay in colour. **98** and **103** are predelle by the same master. **104**: Adoration of the Magi, again by *Bartolo di Fredi*—a mannered work, showing all the artist's defects and few of his merits. **106**: SS. Anthony Abbot and Onofrio; especially attractive little panels, also by *Bartolo di Fredi*. **107**: Madonna enthroned (signed, and dated 1255)—a characteristic work of *Taddeo*

(a) [Demonstrating, most clearly, the remarkable priority of the Sienese in the development of landscape.]

Gaddi, in his better style, despite its roughness of execution. Plainly showing its derivation from Giotto's altar-piece in the Academy at Florence (a). **108**: Marriage of St. Catherine, a very pleasing panel by an unknown follower of Simone Martini. Opposite, **145**: Triptych, by *Giacomo di Mino del Pellicciaio*—coarsely repainted. The faces, however, are in great part untouched and retain their softness of type. As to style this picture has little in common with that by the same master in the church of the Servi. **109**: Polyptych of St. Anne with the Virgin and Child, St. Catherine and the Baptist, St. Anthony and another Saint, by *Luca di Tommé* (signed, 1367). A pleasing picture, and one of the few authenticated works of this artist (b). **114**: Tabernacle, Crucifixion and Saints, possibly a fragment of a larger painting—a genuine but poor work of *Andrea di Vanni*. **111**: Crucifixion and Predella (on linen), by an unknown master of the earlier 15th Century (c). **115**: Altar-piece by *Bartolommeo di Nutino* (?) (d). **116**: Large panel

(a) [This picture has recently been sent, in exchange, to the Uffizi Gallery at Florence.]

(b) [Apart from his signed panels, pictures by Luca are not so rare as was supposed at the time the above was written. We have, in fact, been able to treble, during the past ten years, the former list of his works. As already noted, the very decorative altar-piece, No. 51, in Stanza I, is, in our opinion, certainly an early work of his hand.]

(c) [If not by Pellegrino di Mariano, at least by one of the artists passing under his name.]

(d) [The authoress' doubts as to the former official attribution of this interesting painting were not unjustified.]

of the Birth of the Virgin, with SS. James and Catherine, Bartholomew and Elizabeth, by *Paolo di Giovanni Fei*—a naturalistic treatment of a subject much in vogue among the Sienese painters. **126**: Three Saints, also by *Paolo di Giovanni Fei*. **119**: Coronation of the Virgin, **125**: Death of the Virgin, by *Spinello Aretino*—pleasing in colour and executed with that artist's usual ready security of hand. Here follows a series of pictures by *Taddeo di Bartolo*: **131**: Large triptych of the Annunciation and Saints (darkened by smoke and dirt); a free transcription of Simone's picture in the Uffizi—below the average of Taddeo's work in merit (*a*); **128**: A small and enamel-like triptych of the Madonna enthroned with SS. Anthony and Catherine, Nicholas and Jerome, showing Taddeo in his most pleasing phase; **127**: An Adoration of the Magi; **132**: A Nativity; **134**: Martyrdom of SS. Cosmo and Damian, remarkable for energy of action—a point in the successful carrying out of which the Sienese were not usually over-proficient; **130**: St. Agnes (?)—a charming little figure; **135**: St. Matthew; **144** and **143**: Annunciation—interesting but sadly damaged fragments. **78**: A small Beato, hung among the pictures of the Lorenzetti, is also a work of *Taddeo* (*b*).

We have since shown it to be a work of Naddo Ceccherelli (see *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, V, 1909, p. 5 *et seg.*.)

(*a*) [This altar-piece was, in all likelihood, originally a polyptych in five parts.]

(*b*) [The following panels in this room (Stanza II) are

Stanza III contains works of the earlier half of the 15th century. **149**: Triumph of Death, **150**: Triumph of Chastity, **151**: Triumph of Love, **152**: Triumph of Fame. Four quaintly delightful and much questioned panels, attributed by Mr. Berenson to *Pier Francesco Fiorentino* (*a*)—certainly not of the Sienese school, to which they have usually been ascribed. **154**: A small and delicate triptych, by a contemporary of Taddeo **157**: Tryptich of a seated Madonna, with the Baptist and St. Nicholas, St. Augustine, and the Annunciation—a pleasing little work of the school of Lorenzo Monaco (*b*). Opposite are three altar-pieces of the Madonna and Child with Saints—**160.**, **220.**, and **219.**—

also worthy of note: 62 and 64—fragments of a polyptych—summary but genuine works of Pietro Lorenzetti; 75—bust of an Apostle—by a close follower of Pietro; 63—head of St. Michael—Bartolo di Fredi; 121—interesting little panel by the rare Niccolò di Buonaccorso; 66—Virgin, Child and two Angels—probably by the same master; 137—small triptych—a fine example of Paolo di Giovanni Fei at his best; 141—triptych panel—very close to Paolo; 589—fragmentary Virgin and Child—ascribed to Fei (?) but in reality by Mariotto di Nardo of Florence.] (Since the above note was written, this room has received a valuable addition in the shape of a genuine work of Lippo Memmi—a Madonna and Child—No. 595—found some years ago by Sig. De Nicola in the R. Conservatorio of Montepulciano).

(*a*) [We can in no wise agree with the attribution of these panels to Pier Francesco Fiorentino, any more than we can agree with Mr. Berenson's reconstruction of that painter's artistic personality. The paintings here in question are coarse but attractive works by some nameless Florentine furniture-painter of the belated school of Uccello.]

(*b*) [By some critics considered an early work of Lorenzo himself.]

characteristic examples of *Martino di Bartolommeo*, a pupil of Taddeo di Bartolo (a). **164**: Seated Madonna surrounded by music-making Angels, by *Domenico di Bartolo* (signed, 1433)—an interesting picture, inspired by a study of Florentine painting, and illustrating the artist's power, or desire of it, to express values of modelling. **166**: A fine little Temptation of St. Anthony, by *Sassetta*. **167**: The Last Supper, also by *Sassetta*, has all the pleasing colouring of this master, his careful execution and individual expression. **168**: The four patron Saints of Siena: Ansanus, Victor, Savinus and Crescentius, and **169**: the Four Fathers of the Church—quiet and dignified figures—again by *Sassetta*. **171**: Marriage of St. Catherine of Alexandria, signed *Michelinus*. This curious and interesting panel is the work of a painter, evidently a North Italian, under the direct influence of the school of Cologne (b). Then follows a group of pictures by the highly original and ever changeable *Giovanni di Paolo*, showing the varied influences under which this master worked. **173**: An imposing polyptych, with a hieratic figure of

(a) [Of these three altar-pieces, Nos. 160 is a typical and unquestionable production of Martino. Nos. 219 and 220 are, however, so considerably different in style and handling as to suggest another hand. The St. Dorothea of the last-named work is clearly a free copy of the representation of the same Saint in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's polyptych, No. 77, in Stanza II.]

(b) [In all probability by Michelino da Besozzo. This picture is now in the adjoining corridor.]

St. Nicolas, and attendant Saints (signed, 1453). **172**: Predella of the Last Judgment—the Paradise containing many details of naïve charm and grace. **191**: Smaller polyptych of the Virgin with Saints. **178**: Small triptych of the Madonna with Saints and Angels—very careful in execution. **174**: Presentation, **175**: Crucifixion, **176**: Journey into Egypt—pleasing early works. **193** and **197**: Full-length figures of the Baptist and St. Dominic, clearly showing the influence of the art of Taddeo di Bartolo. **195**: St. Mark, showing the influence of Bartolo di Fredi. **199**: St. Galganus and the Magdalen, and **201**: St. Bernard and St. Romuald—divisions of a large polyptych of which the interesting Predella, **198**, relating to the lives of the above-mentioned Saints, once formed a part. **200**: The Crucifixion (1440). **177**: A small but characteristic triptych by *Sassetta*—the St. Catherine being a particularly graceful little figure (*a*). **185**: A seated Madonna, by a close pupil of *Sassetta*. **184**: A softly-coloured little panel, mis-placed in this group of later pictures, by a direct follower of Ambrogio Lorenzetti (*b*). On the opposite wall is a much damaged, but extremely decorative, cassone-front, **217**, representing the Triumph of David, by *Neroccio dei Landi*. **216**

(*a*) [The authoress was the first to restore this charming little triptych to its real master.]

(*b*) [This beautiful little panel is a genuine and precious work by Ambrogio Lorenzetti's own hand.]

and **218**: Predelle, ascribed to *Pellegrino di Mariano*, both illustrating the painter's close relationship to Sano di Pietro (a). Above are three panels by *Giovanni di Paolo*: **213**: St. James, **214**: Kneeling Bishop, **215**: St. Andrew. **203**: A figure of St. Bernardino, by *Pietro di Giovanni* (signed) (b). **204**: The large front of a press, formerly in the sacristy of the hospital-church of S. Maria della Scala, decorated by *Vecchietta* (in 1445) with Sienese Saints and Beati, the four patron Saints being on the extreme right and left; above, the Annunciation; on the reverse of the doors, scenes from the Passion—these last rather rudely and hastily executed, and narrowly verging on caricature. **205**: St. Bernardino, by the same master. **206**: A Virgin and Child seated in the open air, with a quaintly interesting landscape background—an early and delightful work of *Giovanni di Paolo*, very suggestive of Sassetta. **207**: Madonna with Angels, of the school of *Domenico di Bartolo* (c). **211**: On the opposite wall, Circumcision,

(a) [These *predelle* differ so considerably—especially in quality—from the only two signed panels by *Pellegrino* at present known to us (in the possession of Mr. C. Fairfax Murray at London and Sig. Camajori at Belcaro) that we cannot accept them as being by his brush. They are quite evidently, however, by a close follower of Sassetta.]

(b) [By this rare pupil of Sassetta are two more similar panels—one in the church of the Osservanza, the other at Lucignano in Val di Chiana. The artist's most important work is a large signed standard in the André Collection at Paris.]

(c) [Possibly an early work by the master himself?]

by *Giovanni di Paolo*. A literal copy—with Giovanni's types—of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's composition now in the Academy at Florence. **210**: Grandiose Virgin and Child enthroned with SS. Peter and Paul—a signed and late work of *Vecchietta*, unfortunately ruined (from the church of S. Maria della Scala). **212**: Allegory of the Redemption—a strange and remarkable painting by *Giovanni di Paolo*. **208**: Christ blessing, by the same master. **209**: Adoration of the Christ-Child by the Virgin, SS. Francis and Dominic. A work of the eclectic *Pier Francesco Fiorentino* (1), painted under the direct inspiration of Benozzo Gozzoli (a).

Stanza IV and **Stanza V** are devoted entirely to paintings of *Sano di Pietro* and his assistants. The visitor may here be left to his own enjoyment of this loveable artist, and particular mention need be made only of the following works, as being the finest of the collection. **226**:

(1) It is almost unnecessary to say that this painter is not to be confounded with the great Pietro dei Franceschi, although such an absurd mistake has frequently been made by would-be "art students."

(a) [The following are also worthy of note: 146—diptych—by Paolo di Giovanni Fei; 156—triptych—by a contemporary or follower of Andrea Vanni; 158—triptych—by Pellegrino di Mariano (?); 183—triptych—an exceptionally fine early work by Paolo di Giovanni Fei. On the wall of the corridor, near the entrance to Stanza IV, is an important and highly characteristic work of Vecchietta—a panel-painting (No. 577) of St. Lawrence, in its original Renaissance frame—from the demolished Convent of the Cappuccine.]

Polyptych—complete in all its parts and particularly noticeable for the fine figures of the Baptist and St. Benedict. **228**: Madonna with Angels and Saints, in the original frame. **227**: Small and beautifully decorative Assumption of the Virgin—rich in colour (*a*). **231**: Polyptych, of which the central panel of the Virgin and Child is especially delicate and winning. **233**: Triptych of the Madonna surrounded by Angels, SS. Cosmo and Damian, and a beautiful predella of scenes from their lives, with SS. Catherine and Bernardino at either end—one of the best of Sano's larger altar-pieces. **235**: St. Ansanus. **238**: St. Bernardino. **241**: The Virgin commending her city of Siena to Callistus III—interesting for the subject apart from its artistic charm. **246**: A fine polyptych, with the Beato Giovanni Colombini kneeling before the Madonna and Child. The pinnacle-pieces of the Annunciation are here unusually attractive. **260**: (Next room) Polyptych of the Assumption, with dignified Saints. **259**: Fine predella. **265**: Small panel of St. Jerome, in the Desert. **255**: Another altar-piece and predella (*b*). **254**: Madonna with four Saints and two Angels.

The badly lighted **Stanza VI** contains paint-

(*a*) [This little-known panel is, in many respects, the finest of Sano's innumerable paintings. It is one of his earliest recognizable works and clearly shows his direct derivation from Sassetta.]

(*b*) [Execution in good part by an assistant.]

ings by three of the best Sienese artists of the later 15th Century—*Francesco di Giorgio*, *Matteo di Giovanni*, and *Neroccio di Landi*—the last being particularly well represented. By this finely gifted and as yet insufficiently appreciated master there are here no less than seven panels, every one of which should be carefully studied. **281**: An early and exquisite picture of the Madonna with SS. Bernardino and Jerome; wonderfully delicate in colour and design and in a singularly beautiful and untouched state (*a*). **282**: Triptych of the Virgin and Child, St. Michael and St. Bernardino (signed, 1476)—the central panel being one of the supremely lovely creations of the Sienese Quattrocento. **285**: Virgin with Child standing erect, between SS. Catherine and Bernardino. **287**: Madonna and four Saints, having much in common with the work of Neroccio's contemporary and partner, *Francesco di Giorgio*, with whom the master is often confounded even by intelligent critics. **295**: Madonna with the Baptist and another Saint. **294**: Madonna with St. John and St. Andrew. **278**: Virgin and Child enthroned, with six Saints, a large work of the master's later years, signed, and dated 1492. By *Francesco di Giorgio* are: three small and curious predelle, **274.**, **275.**, **276.**, representing Potiphar's Wife, Susanna, and Joseph sold by his Brethren; **277**: The Annunciation—a

(*a*) [The most beautiful and characteristic of all Neroccio's paintings.]

fascinating little picture, very graceful in movement and in line; **288**: Virgin and Child with a beautiful Angel, in landscape; and **293**: Madonna with two Saints—a later work. **286**: A Virgin and Child enthroned, with four delightful Angels, is one of the earliest signed works (1470) which we possess from the brush of *Matteo di Giovanni*. **280**: Madonna with St. John, St. James, and two Angels—a particularly Sanesque picture by the same master (still in its old frame). **283**: Another, and very beautiful, Madonna, in a rocky landscape, also by *Matteo*. **284**: Panel of the school of Francesco di Giorgio (*a*), wrongly attributed to Matteo. **279**: Adoration of the Shepherds—an interesting work, with a peculiarly Umbrian landscape—by *Pietro di Domenico*. At the opposite end of the room are two pictures by *Cozzarelli*—**296**: St. Sebastian, and **296**: an allegorical representation of the Virgin (?). **298**: Enthroned Madonna with four Saints (signed, 1500), by *Andrea di Niccolò*—a much damaged but characteristic example of his style. **299**: Small Nativity, with a remarkably spacious landscape, by *Suor Barbara Ragnoni* (?), probably a copy of a work by Pacchiarotto (*b*).

In **Stanza VII** are hung damaged and frag-

(*a*) [Rather of the school of Benvenuto.]

(*b*) [The charming panel, 290, in this room, is by a nameless follower of Francesco di Giorgio. Here also are two more works by Sano: 272, 273.]

mentary paintings. 325, next the entrance—a dimmed and blackened Virgin and Child,—was once a beautiful and highly characteristic work of *Sassetta* (a). Next to it, 324, hangs an Assumption by *Giovanni di Paolo*. 323: A ruined but pleasing Madonna Child and Angels, by *Sano di Pietro* 313: A remarkable Italo-Byzantine picture of St. Francis, surrounded by scenes from his life (much damaged by varnish and restoration) (b). 306: Charming Virgin of the Annunciation, by *Francesco di Giorgio*—a mere fragment. On the entrance wall, a polyptych by *Paolo di Giovanni Fei* (c). The engravings are unimportant (d).

In the passage-way is the wreck of a large Assumption, once an ambitious work of *Pacchiaretto*, and in the hall hangs a polyptych by *Gio-*

(a) [Since its identification by the authoress, this important but ruined work has been removed to the main corridor.]

(b) [This altar-piece, which dates from the middle of the XIII Century and is of particular interest in its relation to Franciscan iconography, is threatened by imminent ruin as a result of the deplorable treatment to which it has been subjected.]

(c) [A late work (draperies coarsely repainted), strongly contrasting with the carefully executed panels of Paolo's earlier manner.]

(d) [These have since been removed. This room also contains: 536: a polytych of the Madonna, Child, and Saints, by *Luca di Tommè*—a good example of the master, purchased since the publication of this Guide; 304—monochrome fresco of the Beata Aldobrandesca Ponsia—by *Cozzarelli*; 320—Madonna, Child, and Saints—*Neri di Bicci*; 321—Crucifixion and Saints—*Tuscan School* of the XIII Century; various other panels.]

vanni di Paolo (a). Of chief interest to the majority of visitors in **Stanza VIII** is *Sodoma's* fresco of Christ bound to the Column—once in the church of S. Francesco—an extravagantly overlauded work, realistically conceived and lacking in true refinement. The surface modelling of the flesh is here admirable and careful, although, as is almost invariably the case with *Sodoma*, the figure conveys but a poor idea of structural strength (b). **333** : Ransom of Prisoners, and **334** : Escape of Æneas and Anchises from Troy, are interesting and attractively-coloured frescoes originally painted for the palace of Pandolfo Petrucci, by *Girolamo Genga*, showing the direct influence of Signorelli. **342** : A fine but darkened little panel of the Nativity, by *Girolamo di Benvenuto*. **346** : An Angel, by *Balducci*. **354** : Judith, a pleasing work of *Sodoma*. **359** : Madonna with SS. Francis and Catherine, by *Balducci*. **360.**, **361.**, **326.**, **327** : four bier-heads, are wrongly attributed to *Sodoma* himself. The six delicately carved wooden pilasters, by Antonio Barili, once formed a part of the decorations of the Palazzo del Magnifico (c).

(a) [A late work in Giovanni's most exaggerated manner. Possibly in part by another hand?]

(b) [We can only agree with the authoress' criticism of this extraordinarily over-rated painting. Reference might also have been made to the unpleasant brick-like colour.]

(c) [We may also mention: 337—Virgin, Child, and Angels—Cozzarelli; 343—Virgin, Child, and Saints—Becca-

Stanza IX is devoted to the compositions of the Sienese eclectics of the early Cinquecento and of the closing years of the preceding century. **363** : A characteristic Madonna by *Fungai*. **365** : Nativity with adoring Saints (on linen), by *Andrea di Niccolò*, clearly showing the influence of Francesco di Giorgio. **366** : Five small Saints, by *Pacchiarotto*. **367** : Madonna enthroned, with St. Jerome and the Blessed Giovanni Colombini (1482), by *Cozzarelli*. **368** : The Crucifixion and Saints (1502), by *Andrea di Niccolò*. **369** : Deposition, a late and somewhat unusual work by *Girolamo di Benvenuto*. **370** : Four Saints, **372** : Nativity of the Virgin, and **373** : Dead Christ supported by Angels, are also by *Girolamo di Benvenuto*. Three panels of the Madonna with Saints, **374.**, **375.**, **376** : are pleasing works by *Fungai*, the last-named showing the marked influence of Francesco di Giorgio. Above, and on the opposite wall, hang four little paintings by *Balducci* ; **377** : Faith, **379** : Charity, **381** : Fortitude **393** : Justice. **384** : Triptych of the Trinity and four Saints (1512), an early work of *Beccafumi*. **383** : Small Assumption, by *Girolamo di Benvenuto*. **382** : above, Madonna with St. Jerome and St. Bartholomew, is by *Pietro di Domenico*. **386** : Adoration of the Magi, and **391** : Madonna with

fumi; 357—a birth-plate (*desco da parto*) by Francesco Vanni (?); 335—St. Catherine of Siena—Sodoma.]

St. Jerome and St. Francis, are by *Balducci* (a). 390 : and 397 : Two panels by *Pietro di Domenico*, representing the Nativity, and the Madonna with SS. Jerome and Anthony of Padua. 395 : Pleasing little Virgin and Child, by *Girolamo di Benvenuto* (fragment). 398 and 364 : Four Saints, crude works, possibly by Balducci. Four pilasters, similiar to those in Stanza VIII, by Barili (b).

Stanza X contains large, although not always the most important, works of the Sienese Renaissance. To the left of the entrance are two small panels by *Cozzarelli* : 445 : St. Catherine giving her heart to Christ, 446 : Madonna with Saints. 441 : Assumption of the Virgin—one of *Fungai's* poorer pictures. 440 : Coronation of the Virgin (1471). A remarkable and very characteristic work, by *Francesco di Giorgio*, somewhat hard in colour, but full of interesting details. The principal group is the most attractive portion

(a) [We can find no reasons to justify the attribution of the first of these two panels (386) to Matteo Balducci. The picture has no connection with the group of works generally accepted as being by that painter, and is by a much abler follower of Pintoricchio ; very close, indeed, to that master himself. The attribution to Balducci originated, if we are not mistaken, with Mr. Berenson, who, in the latest edition of his *Central Italian Painters* (1909), ascribes the same picture both to Balducci and to Pintoricchio.]

(b) [Before passing to Stanza X the student may pause to notice two large Crucifixes which have recently been hung in the adjoining hall—one a very interesting example of early Ducento art—the other a ruined, but remarkably effective and decorative work of the earlier Quattrocento.]

of the picture (a). **437**: Nativity with SS. Bernardino and Ambrose (1475), by the same master—a prelude to his Nativity in S. Domenico. **436**: Polyptych of the Virgin and Child with attendant Angels, St. Michael and St. Catherine, a Bishop and St. Lucy, and a fine predella of scenes from the Life of the Virgin (1475)—a splendid work of *Benvenuto di Giovanni* (b), contrasting strangely with the master's later picture of the Ascension, **334**, hanging next to it. This severe and imposing altar-piece, painted in 1491, is an example of the striking change which came over Benvenuto during the latter part of his career. **492**: Madonna enthroned with SS. Cosmo and Damian, SS. Sebastian and Galganus, designed by *Matteo*, but

(a) [This altar-piece—the most important of Francesco's surviving paintings—will repay careful study. Many of the heads and figures are of a peculiar beauty. The picture reveals a certain amount of Florentine influence.]

(b) [This highly decorative altar-piece, which for many years formed the chief attraction of this room, has recently, and since the revision of these pages, been sent back, as the result of a protracted law-suit, to the parish church of the little town of Montepertuso, for which it was originally executed. Marked as is the loss to the gallery, we can but rejoice at the decision of the court. No-one who has ever experienced the wonderful effect of such paintings in their proper surroundings, can wish for their internment within the cold and crowded walls of a modern museum. Those who do not share our opinion may find consolation in the fact that the void created by the departure of Benvenuto's polyptych has been in part filled by the acquisition, through exchange, of the large altar-piece of the Visitation, by Pacchiarotto, formerly in the Academy at Florence, now exhibited in this room (as yet without number)].

probably executed in part by *Cozzarelli*. **433** : Round picture of the Madonna with two Saints, by *Pacchia*. **431** : Enthroned Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels (1512), by *Fungai*, in one of that master's favourite landscapes. **428** : Calvary—of the school of Francesco di Giorgio (*a*). **427** : Christ descending into Limbo, the Penitent Thief behind Him—an academic but not uninteresting painting, by *Beccafumi*. On the end wall are two altar-pieces by *Pacchiarotto* : **426** : A charming Visitation, with St. Michael and St. Francis; **424** : Madonna enthroned, with dignified figures of St. Onofrio and St. Bartholomew. **423** : Fall of Lucifer, a riotous and chaotic work of *Beccafumi*. **422** : Ascension of Christ, by *Pacchiarotto*. **421** : Pleasing predella by the same master, of three scenes from the Life of Christ and two from that of St. Catherine. **420** : St. Catherine receiving the Stigmata, one of the best works of *Beccafumi*, obviously painted while under the sway of the Florentine school, and more especially of Fra Bartolommeo. This latter influence is particularly noticeable in the landscape, with its remarkable atmospheric effects. **417, 418, 419** : Predella of scenes from the Life of St. Catherine, by the same artist (*b*). **414** : Virgin and Child enthroned, with four Saints, and Angels carrying snow-balls

(*a*) [Certainly designed, at least, by Francesco himself.]
 (*b*) [Remarkable little panels.]

(signed, 1508), by *Girolamo di Benvenuto*—the colour much darkened. A picture painted, like *Matteo di Giovanni's* well-known altar-piece in S. Maria delle Nevi, in honour of the " Virgin of the Snow ". The fine head of St. Catherine of Alexandria is evidently a portrait. The lunette of the Nativity is by *Matteo di Giovanni*. 413: Descent from the Cross, one of the first works painted by *Sodoma* after his arrival in Siena—well composed, hard and disagreeable in colour, with a miniature-like landscape. For *Sodoma*, the picture is particularly careful in execution and fairly correct as to drawing. 410: The Annunciation, and, in the background, the Visitation (1518), a poor *Pacchia*. 409: Enthroned Virgin and Child with six Saints, by *Andrea Brescianino*—well, although somewhat academically, composed; on the whole this artist's masterpiece (*a*). The softly coloured predella is by the same hand. 407: The Nativity—obviously not by *Pintoricchio*, to whom it is ascribed—given by Mr. Berenson to *Balducci*. 406: a predella—full of open air effects—although belonging to another picture, is also by *Balducci* (*b*). 405: An impressionistic Nativity, by *Beccafumi*, suggesting a comparison

(*a*) [This altar-piece has recently been removed to Stanza VII.]

(*b*) [The two above-mentioned works hardly appear to have been painted by the same hand. The predella is more probably by *Balducci*.]

with Sodoma's picture of the same subject, in the Carmine, to which it is by no means inferior. **404**: Drawing by *Vecchietta* for his tabernacle in the Duomo. **401**: Gethsemane, and **443**: Descent into Limbo—damaged frescoes by *Sodoma*, once in the oratory of Sta. Croce. Were it not for its defective composition, the latter, more particularly, would rank as one of the best of Sodoma's works. The figure of Christ deserves a special word of praise—that of the graceful Eve is too well known to need comment. **399** and **400**: two small panels of the Madonna with Saints, are particularly attractive works of *Matteo di Giovanni*. Hanging above the pictures are some of the cartoons for the pavement in the Duomo, by *Beccafumi*, many of them remarkable for their bold and certain drawing, and clearly showing, in this respect, the master's immeasurable superiority over his favoured rival Sodoma (a).

In **Stanza XI** is a miscellaneous collection of pictures of different schools, the majority being of no artistic value. **451** and **464**: the

(a) [This room further contains a transferred fresco of Christ appearing to the Magdalen (581), by *Girolamo di Benvenuto* (formerly in the Convent of S. Girolamo in in Campansi), and a large fresco of the Last Supper—an able composition by *Poccetti*. In a small room to the right of the entrance is a ruined triptych of the Virgin, Child, and Saints, which was once one of the better works of *Luca di Tommé*.]

Magdalen and St. Catherine (on either side of the entrance), attributed to Fra Bartolommeo, are uninteresting works of *Albertinelli*. 454 : A remarkable portrait of Queen Elizabeth, by *Zuccaro* (?) probably executed in England while that artist was Painter to the Queen (a). 462 and 488 : two paintings of the German school by *Albrecht Altdorfer* (b). 495 : The Holy Family, in a beautiful Umbrian landscape—a popular work of *Pintoricchio*. 503 : Virgin and Child with the Baptist, by *Genga* (c). 504 : A fine little portrait of Charles V, attributed to *Amberger*. 512 : Nativity, with an Angel and a little St. John, a carefully executed *Sodoma*, showing decided Florentine influence. 537 : Lucretia—school of Lucas Kranach. 544 : A picture of the Annunciation with, splendid space effects, and a dramatic landscape full of a wonderful play of light and shade—a much neglected masterpiece of *Paris Pordone* (d).

In the passage just outside the entrance to

(a) [The attribution of this portrait to Federico Zuccaro is open to question. There can be no doubt, however, as to the identity of its subject.]

(b) [Recently ceded to the Uffizi Gallery at Florence.]

(c) [The attribution is Mr. Berenson's. The same critic (*Central Italian Painters*) apparently ascribes simultaneously to Genga and to Pacchia, 433 and 448 of Stanza X. These pictures cannot be by the same hand. 433 is, as already noted, by Pacchia.]

(d) [No. 497 has plausibly been ascribed by Mr. Berenson to Sofonisba Anguissola, and probably represents that artist painting the portrait of her master, Bernardino Campi.]

Stanza X stands a Winged Victory, which once had a place on the Roman Porta Aurea (1). In the niche opposite is a statue of the Risen Christ—a gracefully modelled work of the late Quattrocento. In the hall beyond are remnants of Pisanesque and other sculptures (a) and reliefs of the Apostles, in grey stone, attributed to Giovanni Turini.

On the corner of the Via delle Belle Arti and the Via delle Terme stands the church of **S. Pellegrino**. In the atrium is an impressive figure of the Blessed Andrea Gallerani, by an artist close to Taddeo di Bartolo, and within the church are two Apostles—St. Peter, in papal attire, and St. Paul (b)—works of the Trecento (c). Over No. 8 **Via delle Terme**, is a fine emblem of the Guild of Masons. Further on, a covered shrine contains a very lovely and decorative Virgin and Child by Giovanni di Paolo—one of that master's most captivating pictures (key to be had at Vicolo del Forcone 1; fee). To the left of the modern Piazza dell' Indipendenza rises the stone

(1) See p. 164, note 1 *supra*.

(a) [Including three scenes from the story of the Beata Benizi—interesting works by a Sieneſe artist of the middle of the Trecento.]

(b) [These are notable productions of the school of Lippo Memmi.]

(c) [This church also contains (altar to right) a coarsely executed, but interesting, ivory triptych of the XIV Century, representing the Madonna and Child, with scenes from the life of the Virgin.]

Torre dei Mignanelli where formerly were hung the public bells. We return to the **Croce del Travaglio** by the *Via Cavour*.

ENVIRONS

Perhaps even more beautiful than the city itself are the numberless walks and drives about Siena, a description of which would easily fill a lengthy separate volume. Space here forbids mention, however, of any save the more important points in the immediate vicinity. The rest are reserved for a future supplement to this Guide,

About a mile and a half beyond the *Porta Ovile* is situated the convent of the **Osservanza**. The site of the present buildings was once occupied by a hermitage, which was presented to S. Bernardino in 1404. Here a church was raised in 1423—rebuilt in 1485, probably on the designs of Cozzarelli. It still contains several fine pictures and other objects of interest. Over the 1st altar to the left is a Madonna by Sano—two of the angels above, the wings of those below, and the mantle of the Madonna, being 17th-Century renovations. On the 2nd altar stands one of the masterpieces—in sentiment, in glazing, and in composition—of Andrea della Robbia, representing the Coronation of the Virgin, with music-making

Angels and attendant Saints (a). Over the 3rd altar is another picture by Sano, the predella of which has been misplaced beneath a painting of Taddeo di Bartolo in the adjoining chapel—a polyptych of four Saints (dated 1413) (b). To either side of the high-altar are statues of the Annunciation, of the school of Andrea della Robbia, that of the Virgin being particularly fine in attitude. Beneath the altar are preserved relics of S. Bernardino, in a reliquary by Francesco d'Antonio. In the choir hang a panel of St. Catherine with a kneeling female pilgrim, by Girolamo di Benvenuto, and a signed picture (1439) of S. Bernardino, by the rare Pietro di Giovanni (c). The 4th altar on the right of the nave supports a beautiful and well-preserved triptych by Sassetta (dated 1436), representing the Virgin and Child, St. Ambrose and St. Jerome, and' in the gables above, half-figures of Christ, SS. Peter and Paul, and an exquisite little Annunciation. The statue of St. Anthony of Padua, in the 1st chapel, is doubt-

(a) [The vaulting of this chapel contains a charming little medallion fresco of St. Agnes, by Neroccio—all that now remains of the original mural decoration of this thoroughly whitewashed church.]

(b) [This altar-piece, generally accepted as a work of Taddeo, is due to the hand of a close contemporary.]

(c) [Attention should be called to the terracotta busts of Saints in medallions (now unfortunately white-washed) which decorate the ceiling of the church, and which are possibly, in part at least, by Cozzarelli.]

fully ascribed to Cozzarelli (a). The sacristy contains: a fine terra-cotta group of the Deposition by Giacomo Cozzarelli—that artist's master-piece—in which feeling for grace of expression predominates over that for realistic presentation; the tomb-stone of Pandolfo Petrucci; and inlaid presses of the early Cinquecento (b). In the crypt is preserved the cell once inhabited by S. Bernardino (c).

The **Certosa of Pontignano**, a few miles beyond the Osservanza, is a ruined but picturesque abbey of the 14th Century.

About a mile to the southwest of the Porta S. Marco lies the former **monastery of Sant' Eugenio** (1), now modernized and occupied as a

(a) [Certainly not by Giacomo. The coloured terracotta group of the Pietà, in the second chapel, is by an unknown sculptor of the late XVI Century (popularly ascribed to Giovanni Gonnelli, " Il Cieco da Gambassi. ")]

(b) [The fine proportions and simple but harmonious furnishings of this sacristy are very worthy of remark.]

(c) [On the wall, behind this cell, formerly stood a fresco of the Last Judgment, by Girolamo di Benvenuto. This painting, which shows its author under the influence of Signorelli, has been transferred to canvas and removed to a room near the sacristy, which has recently been converted by the monks into a little museum. Here are to be seen a pleasing terracotta figure of St. Francis—to all appearances a Florentine work of the Della Robbia school—and some interesting miniatures, amongst which are a frontispiece to a copy of Albertus Magnus' *De Animalibus*—an unquestionable and charming work of Francesco di Giorgio—and an Adoration of the Kings by Benvenuto di Giovanni (wrongly ascribed to " Fra Giovanni da Siena "). Visitors will do well in leaving a slight offering for the convent.]

(1) See p. 21 *supra*,

private residence, and known simply as **Il Monistero**. In the chapel are two large frescoes—the Resurrection and the Crucifixion—late and remarkable works of Benvenuto di Giovanni. Over an altar to the right is a pleasing Virgin and Child with two Angels, by Francesco di Giorgio, and over that to the left, a very beautiful Madonna by Ambrogio Lorenzetti (a). The sacristy contains a Virgin and Child of the school of Duccio (b)—restored, as, indeed, are all the pictures here—and a St. Ansanus and a Bishop, by a painter close to Taddeo di Bartolo (c) (1).

Three miles beyond the Porta Fontebranda is situated, in a commanding position, surrounded by a remarkable ilex hedge, the fortified **Villa of Belcaro** (visitors are usually admitted, here as at the Monistero, by a caretaker, who expects

(a) [It is a matter for regret that most of the pictures which rendered this church so interesting to the visitor, at the time this Guide was written, have since been sold by the Griccioli family. The two pictures by Francesco di Giorgio and Ambrogio Lorenzetti are now in the collection of Mr. D. F. Platt, at Englewood (U. S. A.)]

(b) [This picture is likewise now in the Platt Collection.]

(c) [These two panels are unquestionably by Andrea di Vanni.]

[In the church of S. Bartolommeo, near the Monistero, is a picture of the Virgin and Child, by Giovanni di Paolo.]

(1) Matteo's great Assumption of the Virgin, now in the National Gallery at London, once stood upon the high-altar of this church. [This picture was, however, only temporarily in the possession of the Griccioli family, and appears to have been originally executed for a church in Asciano.]

a fee). From the ramparts we enjoy a superb and boundless panorama of Siena and the surrounding country. The small room opening on one end of this airy promenade contains a Madonna with two Saints, by Matteo (*a*), and two small panels of the Trecento (*b*). On the ground floor is a ceiling fresco, the Judgment of Paris, by Peruzzi, and in the church and green-house, other frescoes—the latter heavily repainted and quite modernized—by the same master.

Some three miles beyond Belcaro, hidden in the midst of ilex woods, lies the Augustinian abbey of **Lecceto**, now belonging to the Seminario of Siena—occupied only by a contadino, save when students from the Seminary make it their summer residence. Always a spot of absolute tranquillity and great natural beauty, the inmates of the convent were famous for their piety and gentle deeds (1). For their edification were depicted, in one of their cloisters, a series of scenes which set forth the life of the convent and the life of the world—highly interesting works, of which the details deserve very careful

(a) [This picture is not by Matteo—to whom it is ascribed also by other critics—but by Cozzarelli.]

(b) [One of these, a small triptych, unfortunately restored, is by Pellegrino di Mariano (the signature is genuine); the other is a little painting by an artist of Andrea di Vanni's school.]

(1) Mr. HEYWOOD's *Esamples of Fra Filippo* gives a graphic account of that friar's writings concerning the monastery and its legends.

inspection—possibly by Paolo di Maestro Neri (1343 ?) a pupil of Ambrogio Lorenzetti (*a*), to whom they are traditionally ascribed. The second cloisters contain frescoes dating from the early Quattrocento, some of them completely restored, representing scenes from the life of St. Augustine, and from the lives of the monks themselves (*b*). Over the entrance to the church is a fresco of Christ, also by Paolo di Maestro Neri (?). Within the church are remnants of frescoes of the Trecento and, in the floor, a tomb of a knight of the Saracini family.

The ruined hermitage of **S. Leonardo al Lago**, charmingly situated on the plain, two miles beyond, belonged to the convent of Lecceto. The church alone now remains intact. In the apse are remarkable frescoes, of scenes from the life of the Virgin, and, in the vaulting, of choirs of singing and playing Angels, by a close follower of the Lorenzetti. The visitor may return to Siena by way of the **Villa S. Colomba** (*c*) (1).

(*a*) [The frescoes in this monastery are by different hands, and the only reason for their attribution to Paolo di Maestro Neri lies in the existence of a documental record to the effect that Paolo painted here in 1343. Whether he was the author of any of the paintings now to be seen in the building, it is impossible to say.]

(*b*) [Some of these paintings are of unusual artistic merit and are by a master of no slight technical ability.]

(*c*) [In the church near by are some interesting frescoes—in all probability by Niccolò di Segna — which were brought to light some ten years ago.]

(1) See p. 173 *supra*.

Other points of especial interest, which may be visited by carriage, and to which must be devoted an entire day, are, the beautiful Gothic ruin of **S. Galgano**, and the Monastery of **Monte Oliveto Maggiore**, where are famous frescoes by Signorelli and Sodoma (*a*). Yet another day's excursion may be made to **San Gimignano**; but as that little town contains many important monuments, such a short visit can hardly be deemed sufficient or wholly satisfactory.

(*a*) [The advent of the motor-car has, needless to say, placed both the above-mentioned monuments within the limits of a morning or an afternoon.]

[NOTE.—As already stated, it is the intention of the publishers to supplement this “ Guide, ” as soon as possible, with a companion volume on the neighbourhood of Siena, in which ample notices will be given of the numerous works of art still hidden in the many towns and country churches of the Sienese *contado*.]

Useful Information

Hotels, Pensions.

GRAND HÔTEL ROYAL DE SIENNE, Via Cavour—with its back to the Lizza.

GRAND HÔTEL CONTIFENTAL. Via Cavour (Via Trieste).

AQUILA NERA, Via Cavour (Via Trieste).

LA TOSCANA, Via del Re, N. 4 (unpretending but good).

LA SCALA, Piazza S. Giovanni (ditto).

PENSIONE SANTA CATERINA. Via delle Belle Arti (Via Cesare Battisti), N. 31.

PENSIONE CHIUSARELLI, Viale Curtatone (with country annex at Marciano during summer).

PENSIONE SACCARO (formerly TOGNAZZI), Via Salustio Bandini.

PENSIONE FLORA, Passeggio della Lizza.

PENSIONE RIGONI, Piazza San Francesco.

PENSIONE SENESE, Via Camollia, N. 26.

Cafés, Confectioners, Restaurants, etc.

CAFÉS: *Caffè de' Combattenti* (formerly *Caffè Greco*), Via di Città, nearly opposite the Loggia della Mercanzia.

RESTAURANTS: *Ristorante Bertini*, Croce del Travaglio. *Ristorante Cannon d'Oro*, Via Cavour. *Ristorante Le Stanze*, Piazza Indipendenza. Also at the various smaller hôtels.

CONFECTIONER: *Mosca* (AFTERNOON TEA), Via Cavour (Via Trieste).

BEER: *Birreria Bader*, on the Lizza.

WINE: *Neghini*, Via Diacceto, N. 6.

Conveyances.

CABS AND CARRIAGES: *Antonio Gracci*, Via delle Terme, N. 15. *Lorenzo Franci*, Via Ricasoli, N. 19.

AUTOMOBILES FOR EXCURSIONS: *Garage Fiat*, San Prospero. *Emilio Bassi*, Via Paradiso, N. 1-22.

BICYCLES AND MOTORCYCLES: *Vittorio Brizzi*, Via delle Belle Arti (Via Cesare Battisti), N. 11-13. *Ezio Chiappi*, Via Garibaldi.

GARAGES: *Fiat*, San Prospero. *Fratelli Lorenzini*, Via Magenta. *Centrale (Ouseley)*, Via del Re.

Physicians, Dentists, Chemists, Lawyers, Bankers, etc.

PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS: *Bordoni* (general practitioner), Via di Città, N. 31. *Bolognesi*

(surgeon), Policlinico. *Forti* (oculist), Via di Città, N. 19. *Rugani* (specialist for eyes, nose, and throat), Via Diacceto N. 5. *Marotta* (specialist for female disorders), Scala San Giovanni.

DENTISTS: *Cianchi*, Via delle Terme, N. 17, *Franci*, Via Pianigiani, N. 2.

ADVOCATÈS: *Martini*, Via Cavallerizzo, N. 1. *Saracini*, Via Ricasoli (Via Trento) N. 2. *Gambelli*, Vicolo Torre, N. 2.

NOTARIES: *Nasimbeni*, Via del Moro N. 7. *Quadri*, Via Cavour (Via Trento), N. 2.

BANKS: *Monte dei Paschi*, Piazza Salimbeni.

CHEMISTS: *Coli*, Croce del Travaglio. *Parenti*, Via Cavour (Via Trieste, N. 7. *Sapori*, Via Cavour (Via Trieste), N. 9.

BATHS: *Istituto Bagni e Terapia Fisica*, Via Curatone. Cold swimming bath at Fontebranda.

HAIRDRESSER: *Consorti*, Via Cavour (Via Trieste), N. 3.

Shops, etc.

BOOKSELLER: *Libreria Editrice Senese* (formerly *Torrini* and *Giuntini-Bentivoglio*). Foreign and Italian books, post-cards, etc. Via Cavour (Via Trieste, N. 8.

PHOTOGRAPHS: Agency for *Anderson's* photographs: *Libreria Editrice Senese* (see above). For *Alinari's* photographs: Via Cavour (Via Trieste), N. 12. *Lombardi*, Via di Città.

WOOD-CARVING: *Corsini*, Via del Capitano, N. 5.
Cambi, Via di Città.

IRON-Work: *B. Zalaffi*, Via di Città, N. 12. *L. Zalaffi*, Via del Capitano, N. 5.

STATIONERS: *Landi*, Via di Città, N. 5. *Nava*, Via Cavour (Via Trieste), N. 6. *Venturini*, Via di Città, N. 10.

PANFORTE, RICCIARELLI, CAVALLUCCI, COPATE (specialities of Siena): PARENTI, Via Cavour (Via Trieste) N. 9. *Galgani*, Via Ricasoli (Via Trento), N. 7.

PUBLIC AUTOMOBILE SERVICE for Massa Marittima, Radicofani, Montalcino, Arezzo, Florence. Point of departure, Piazza Umberto I (formerly Pianigiani), opposite the new Post-Office.

BUREAU OF INFORMATION FOR TOURISTS (office for sale of railway-tickets, insurance of baggage, etc.), Via Cavour (Via Trieste), N. 12.

MARKETS - For cattle, on the Piazza d'Armi, outside Porta Camollia, on first Monday of each month. General market, in Piazza del Mercato, every day.

ENGLISH CHURCH SERVICES, at the English Church, Via Garibaldi.

INDEX

-
-
- Abbadia S. Salvatore, 99.
 Abrami, The, 44n.
 Accademia delle Belle Arti, 5,
 381 *seg.*
 Accademia dei Fisiocritici, 63,
 145.
 Accarigi, The, 44n.
 Accattapane Arrigo, 136.
 Accursio Baldi, 311.
Advocata Senensium, 128 n,
 269n.
 Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, See
 Pius II.
 Aeneas Piccolomini, See *Picco-*
 lomini Aeneas.
Aeneid of Virgil, translated into
 Italian, 139.
 Aesop' Fables, 139.
 Agazzari Fra Filippo, 139, 147,
 413n.
 Agnolo d' Andrea, 85.
 Agnolo di Tura, 138.
 Agnolo di Ventura, sculptor and
 architect, 170, 176, 325-
 326, 358.
 Agostino di Giovanni, 170, 176,
 261n, 349, 358.
 Agostino Novello, Beato, 324.
 Albertus Magnus, 411 n.
 Albertinelli, Mariotto, 407.
 Albizi, The, 44n.
 Albizzeschi, Bernardino; See
 Bernardino, The, San.
 Aldobrandeschi, 29, 31.
 — Ildobrandino, 113.
 — Omberto, 113.
 Aldobrandino Gonzolino, 138.
 Alessi, The, 41, 43n, 44n.
 Alexander III, 21, 243, 267.
 Alfonso of Calavria, 102.
 Aliotti, Bishop, 177.
 Aldorfer, Abbrecht, 407.
 Allegretto Allegretti, 141.
 Ambassadors, Sienese, Picture
 of, 113n.
 Amberger, Christoph, 407.
 Ambrogio di Bindo, 219n.
 Ambrogio Lorenzetti. See *Lo-*
 renzetti.
 Amiata, Monte, 99, 245.
 Ancona, 172, 281.
 Anconitani the, 44n.
 Andrea di Bartolo, 201n, 362n.
 Andrea Bregno, 278.
 Andrea del Brescianino. See
 Brescianino.
 Andrea Dei, 139.
 Andrea di Iacopo, 217n.
 Andrea di Mino, 219n.
 Andrea di Niccolò, 209, 367n,
 398, 401.
 Andrea del Sarto, 359, 360.

- Andrea di Vanni, 72 n, 200, 254, 314n, 341, 355, 356n, 361n, 363, 376, 386n, 389, 395n, 412n, 413n.
- Angiolieri, Cecco, 132, 133, 351n, 352n.
- Anguillara, Count of, 113.
- Anguissola, Sofonisba, 407n.
- Ansanus, St., 18, 184, 228, 231, 235, 307 n, 321.
- Antonio Federighi. See *Federighi*.
- Antonio di Minella, 221.
- Antolini, The, 44n.
- Apollo, 42n.
- Aquila, 97.
- Arbia, The river, 19, 51.
- Arcangelo de' Pierantoni, See *Salimbeni*.
- Archivio di Stato*, 5, 145, 196n, 344-349.
- Architecture, 161 seq.
- Arco di S. Agostino, 326.
- Arco delle Due Porte, 316.
- Arduini, The, 323n.
- Arezzo, 19, 39, 87, 176, 198.
- Arms of the Commune, 42n, 228n, 249.
- People, 28, 29 228, 249.
- Arringhieri, Alberto, 277.
- Arringhieri Niccolò, 349.
- Arti*, The, 27, 105.
- Arte della Lana*, 39, 44, 82.
- Arte de' Macellari*. See *Butchers*, *Guild of*.
- Arte de' Mercanti*, 44, 248, 249n.
- Arte degli Orazi*, 138.
- Arte de' Maestri di Pietra*, 175.
- Arte de' Pittori*, 138, 188.
- Asciano, 200, 412n.
- The battle of, 30, 31.
- Arzocchi, The, 44n, 46.
- Assempri*, The, of Fra Filippo, 140, 147.
- Assisi, 165n. 195, 198.
- Asso, The river, 49.
- Augustus, 18, 164.
- Avignon, 83n, 313.
- Badia a Sugna, 35, 36.
- Baglioni, The, 111, 112.
- Baldassarre Peruzzi, See *Peruzzi*.
- Balducci, Matteo, 209, 255, 282n, 298, 341, 366, 400, 401, 402, 405.
- Balestra, Pietro, 276.
- Balia, Collegio della* 104, 113, 119.
- Ballo Tondo*, 237n.
- Baltimore (U. S. A.), Waltera Collection, 253 n.
- Balsana*, The, 42n. 249.
- Balzano, Libro detto il*, 89.
- Banchi, Luciano, 145.
- Bandinelli, The, 44n.
- Bandini, Sallustio, 145.
- Bankers, Sienese, 39, 44, 297n.
- Baptistery, See *Churches*.
- Barbarossa, See *Frederick Barbarossa*.
- Barbotti, The, 44n.
- Bargagli, Scipione, 143, 366n.

- Barili, Antonio, 221, 244, 272, 282, 337, 400, 402.
 Barili, Giovanni, 221, 272, 358n.
 Barna, 200, 314.
 Barna di Turino, 188, 244. See also *Turini*.
 Barocci, Federico, 216n.
 Baroncelli, The, 44n.
 Baroque Architecture, 162, 174.
 Bartoli, Bishop Carlo, 270.
 Bartoli, Taddeo. See *Taddeo di Bartolo*.
 Bartolo di Fredi, 200, 246, 314, 367, 385n, 388, 393.
 Bartolommeo, Fra, 341, 351, 404, 407.
 Bartolommeo di Nutino, 327, 389.
 Bartolommeo di Tommè, 230n.
Barzelletta della Città di Siena, 115n.
 Bastiano di Francesco, 271n, 285.
Battifolle, 233n.
 Bazzi, Gianantonio. See *Sodoma*.
 Beccafumi, Domenico, 185, 212, 213, 244, 252, 255, 256, 271n, 272, 287, 287, 298, 300, 305n, 308, 318, 319, 320, 322, 328, 329, 341, 343, 358n, 360, 360, 366, 374, 400, 401n, 401, 404, 405, 406.
 Becchina, 132.
 Belcaro, 412-413.
 Bellamino, 377.
 Bellarmati, Antonio, 142.
 Bellarmati, Girolamo, 174.
 Belmonti, The, 48, 49.
 Benedetto di Giovanni, 272.
 Benedetto da Maiano, 374.
 Benedict, St., The rule of, 98.
 Benevento, 21.
 — The Battle of, 33.
 Benincasa Caterina, See *Catherine, St.*
 Benozzo Gozzoli, 395.
 Bentivogli, Cornelio, 125.
 Benvenuto di Giovanni, 205-206n, 207, 271n, 286, 293n, 304, 306, 312, 313, 314, 315, 346, 347, 358n, 364, 375, 403, 411n, 412.
 Benvoglienti, Uberto, 143.
 Berlin Museum, 294n, 303n.
 Bernardino, S., 95, 97, 102, 139, 234, 242, 247, 273, 308n, 320, 369, 409, 410, 411.
 Bernardino Fungai, See *Fungai*.
 Bernardo Daddi, 386, 387.
 Bernardo Rosellino. See *Rosellino*.
 Bernini, 270.
 Berta, Countess, 322n.
 Bianco da Siena, 100, 135.
 Bibbiano, 214n.
Biblioteca Comunale, 5, 380.
Biccherna, The, 53, 54n, 137, 344, 345n. See *Tavolette dipinte*.
 Bichi Alessandro, 109.

- Bidelli Scipione, 110.
 Bishops, Temporal power of the, 20 *seq.*
 Black Dead. See *Pestilence, The*.
 Boccaccio, Will of, 349.
 Bologna, 33, 59, 173, 177, 179n, 180, 303n; S. Petronio, 179n.
 Bonda, S., The Convent of, 99.
 Bonichi Bindo, 132, 134-135.
 Bordone, Paris, 407.
 Borgia, The, 104.
 Borghesi Niccolò, 105.
 Borghesi Scipione, 145.
 Borgo San Sepolcro, 207, 208n.
 Bostoli, the, 44n.
 Bottini, The, 5, 169.
 Bozzone, The River, 51.
 Brandano, 291.
 Bregno. See *Andrea Bregno*
 Brescianino Andrea, 214, 252, 253, 255, 293, 320.
 Breton's, The, 87.
Brevi, 137-138, 188n.
 Brigandage, 111 *seq.*
 Bronze-casters in Siena, 182n, 184, 185, 271, 271n.
 Brooklyn (U. S. A.), 337n.
 Brunelleschi, 326.
 Brutus, 249n.
 Buda-Pesth - Karoly collection, 252n.
 Bulgarini, The, 44n.
 Buonconvento, 46, 52, 132, 207n, 208n.
 Buonsignori, The, 44n.
 — *Compagnia de'*. See *Compagnia de' Buonsignori*.
 — Niccolò de', his rebellion, 47 *seq.*
 Buontalenti Bernardo, 258.
 Butchers, Guild of, 250.
 Byzantine Painting, 192, 194, 318n.
 Byzantium, 192n.
 Cafaggi, Domenico, 186n, 269.
 Caleffi, The, 10, 137.
 Cambridge, Mass (U. S. A.) - Fogg Museum, 254n.
 Camaino di Crescentino, 169, 170n, 301n.
Camarlingo di Biccherna, 54, 345n.
 Camollia, Battle of, 269n, 327.
 Camollia, Porta. See *Gates*.
 Campagnatico, 49, 113.
 Campaldino, Battle of, 39, 51.
 Campi, Bernardino, 407n.
 Campiglia d' Orcia, 58.
 Campo Il. See *Piazza del Campo*.
Campsores domini Papae, 39, 352n.
Caneschi, The, 68, 70-72.
Capitano del Popolo. See *Captain of the People*.
 Cappella della Piazza, 229, 230, 291, 292.
 Capriola, 95.
 Captain of the Party Guelf, 46, 56.

- Captain of the People, 28, 57, 103.
- Carpellini, C. F., 145.
- Carpi, 173.
- Carroccio*, the Sienese, 276n.
- Casa della Consuma*, 365.
- Casamari, 165n.
- Casate*, The, 44n.
- Casato*, The, 48-326.
- Casolani, Alessandro, 215n.
- Casolani, Ilario, 216n.
- Casole in Val d' Elsa, 176n.
- Castel di Camollia, 42n.
- Castellaccia*, The, 48.
- Castellare*, The, 352, 353n.
- Castello di Val di Montone, 42n.
- Castel Senio, 42n.
- Castel Vecchio. 20, 42n, 260, 321.
- Cataneo, Pietro, 371.
- Cateau Cambrèsis, The Treaty of 119.
- Caterina di Salicotto, 105.
- Cathedral, The, 59. See *Churches and Convents*.
- Catherine, St. 92, 94, 139, 139n, 234, 247, 308n, 312, *passim*, Her house, 173. 377 *seq.* Relics of the Saint, 312, 372, 374, 378, 379.
- Cauli, The, 44n.
- Cavalcaselle, 159n, 160n.
- Cavaliere* or *milites*, 26n, 29n, 54.
- Cavaliere* or Knights, 56. See *Knightood*.
- Ceccherelli. See Naddo.
- Cecco Angiolieri. See *Angiolieri*, *Cecco*.
- Cecco di Giorgio. See *Francesco di Giorgio*.
- Ceccolini, 251n.
- Celestine III, Pope, 309.
- Cellino di Nese, 177.
- Celso Cittadini, 131, 143.
- Ceramics, 219, 220.
- Cerretani, The, 44n.
- Chains of the City, 63n. 364n.
- Charlemagne, 228n.
- Charles of Anjou, 33, 35, 38, 71, 225.
- Charles of Durazzo, 87.
- Charles V, 109, 115 *seq.*, 123.
- Charles of Luxemburg, 61, *seq.* 91.
- Chinese Painting, 189, 238-239.
- Chiusi, 19, 110.
- Chronicles, Sienese, 137, 141, 143.
- Churches, Chapels and Convents: Agostino, S., 208, 220, 323, 325, 326.
- Andrea, S., 71, 365.
- Ansano, S., 164n, 321, 322.
- Antonio, S., 380.
- Baptistery. See *Giovanni Battista*, S.
- Bartolommeo, S., See *SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio*.
- Bernardino S., Oratorio di, 176, 359, 360.

Churches and Convents — *Continued*:

- Bruco (Chiesa della Contrada), 360.
 Campansi. See *S. Girolamo*.
 Cappella della Piazza, 229-230, 291, 292.
 Cappuccine, Convent of the, 371n, 385n, 395n.
 Carmine, 213n, 272n, 317, 319, 331n, 372n.
 Caterina, S., della Notte, 312.
 Caterina, S., in Fontebranda, 173, 220, 378, 379.
 Caterina, S. (Contrada del Drago), 371.
 Cathedral See *Duomo*.
 Chiara, S., 165, 340.
 Chiodi, SS., 363.
 Cristoforo, S., 350, 351.
 Croce, S., 326, 406.
 Crocifisso SS. Oratory of the, 379, 380.
 Desiderio, S., 300.
 Domenico S., 206, 208, 212, 371, 374.
 Donato S., 165n, 362-363.
 Duomo, the, 59, 166, 167, 169, 170, 175, 184, 219, 221, 260, 288, 290n, 348n.
 — Campanile, 261, 292, 299n.
 — Façade, 176n, 261n.
 — Plan, 167n, 266n, 291n.
 — Interior, 266 *seq.*, 262n, 291, 347.
 — Cappella del Voto. 269.

Churches and Convents — *Continued*:

- High Altar, 182n. 184, 270, 293n.
 — Choir, 272, 273.
 — Sacristy, 272. 273.
 — Pulpit, 274, 276.
 — Cappella di S. Ansano, 276.
 — Cappella di S. Giovanni, 184, 276, 278.
 — Libreria, 279, 282.
 — The Pavement, 221, 222, 283, 288n, 291n.
 — Duomo Nuovo, 288. 289, 292.
 Egidio, S., 371n.
 Eugenia, S., 340.
 Fontegiusta, 185n, 331n, 367, 368.
 Francesco, S. 199, 220, 317n, 354, 359, 372n.
 Galgano, S. 218, 338, 339.
 Gesuate, Convent of the, 306.
 Gherardo e Ludovico, Chapel of SS., 359.
 Giacomo, S. (Contrada della Torre), 330.
 Gherardo, S. 301.
 Giorgio, S., 342.
 Giovanni Battista, S., 169, 180, 181, 260, 292n, 300, 305, 317n.
 Giovanni Battista e Gennaro, Confraternity of, 305n.
 Giovanni, S., della Staffa, 342, 343.

Churches and Convents — *Continued* :

- Giuseppe, S. (Contrada dell' Onda), 326.
 Girolamo, S., 330-331.
 Girolamo in Campansi, S., 365, 406n.
 Giusto, S., 330.
 Lucia, S., 220-320, 321, 369n.
 Madonna sotto le volte dello Spedale, 312-314.
 Mamiliano, S., 337.
 Margherita, S. (Contrada della Pantera), 181, 322.
 Maria, S. degli Angeli, 337.
 Maria, S. di Betlem, 164n, 337.
 Maria, S. delle Nevi. 171, 364, 405.
 Maria, S. di Provenzano, 174, 353, 353n.
 Maria, S. della Visitazione, 320.
 Marta, S. (Orfanotrofio) 320.
 Martino, S. 50n, 164n, 174, 181, 327-328.
 Misericordia, 328-329.
 Monaca, S. See *Raimondo, S.*
 Monnagnese. See *S. Niccolò in Sasso.*
 Mustiola, S., 325.
 Niccolò in Sasso, S. 181, 299.
 Niccolò e Lucia, SS. See *Lucia, S.*
 Paolo, S. (Contrada della Chiocciola), 319, 320n.
 Pellegrino, S., 408.

Churches and Convents — *Continued* :

- Pietro, S., alla Magione, 31, 368,
 Pietro, S., a Oville, 361, 362.
 Pietro, S., alle Scale, 315.
 Quirico e Giulitta, SS., 164n, 322.
 Raimondo, S., 202n, 338-339.
 Rocco, S., 361.
 Refugio. See *S. Raimondo.*
 Santuccio. See *S. Galgano.*
 Sebastiano, S. in Valle Piatta, 173, 293n, 306, 307.
 Sebastiano, S., Confraternity of, 365.
 Servi, dei, 196, 331, 335.
 Spirito, S. 210n, 340-342.
 Stefano, S. 370, 371.
 Trinità, SS. 335-336.
 Vigilio, S. 352-353.
 Vincenzo ed Anastasio, SS. (Contrada dell' Istrice 366, 367.
 Churches, modern restoration of, 317n, 331, 332n, 354n, 372n.
 Church services, English, 6
 Cimabue, 190, 191.
 Cini, Lorenzo, 327.
 Cino di Bartolo, 180.
 Cino di Pistoia, 177.
 Cistercians, 165.
 Città di Castello, Gallery, 295n, 385n.
Cives maiores, mediocres et minores, 26.
Civis novus, 25.

- Clement IV, 164n.
 Clement VII, 108.
 Codenacci, The, 44n.
 Colle di Val d'Elsa, 30, 36, 40, 102, 112.
 Colle, The Battle of, 34 seq.
 Colombini Giovanni, 92, 98, 135, 139, 330.
 Columbus, Christopher, 368.
 Columns in Siena: presso il Palazzo Pubblico, 228.
 sulla Piazza di Postierla, 258.
 sulla Piazza di S. Giusto, 329.
 presso la Fontana del Ponte, 339.
 sulla Piazza Tolomei, 351.
 presso l'Oratorio di S. Rocco, 361.
Commentaries of Pius II, 66.
Commesso in marmo, 217, 221, 282, 283n.
 Commission appointed by Charles IV to reform the government, 64, 65.
 Compagnia de' Buonsignori, 47n.
Compagnia del Bruco, 82 seq.
Compagnia del Cappello, 67, 68n, 233.
Compagnie per la città delle Contrade, 23.
 Companies of Adventure, 67, 87, 89, 90.
 Compagnini, Pietro, 249n.
Consiglio Generale della Campana, 22, 53, 54.
Consilium generalis Capitanei et Populi, 28.
Consoli de' Cavalieri, 54, 56.
Consoli de' Mercanti, 54, 55, 57, 249.
 Constantinople, 192.
Constitutum Comunis Senarum 137, 138.
Consuetudines fendorum, 26n.
Consules militum. See *Consoli de' Cavalieri*.
 Consuls, 21 seq. 71, 75.
Contado. Sienese, 19, 25, 49n.
 Conte, Simone di, 73.
Contrade, The, 4, 23, 148.
 Convents. See *Churches and Convents*.
 Coppo di Marcovaldo, 332, 333n.
 Cord used as a symbol of civic concord, 236n.
 Corradino, 33 seq.
 Correggio, 215-216n.
 Cortona, 90, 172.
 Cosimo de' Medici, 120, 124, 370.
 Costarella de' Barbieri, 250.
 Council of the Bell. See *Consiglio Generale della Campana*.
 Count Alberto di Mangone, 31.
 Counts, Siena ruled by, 19 seq. 316n.
 Cozzarelli, Giacomo, 173. 184, 290, 300, 308, 311, 319, 321, 325, 328, 329n, 331, 340, 340, 358, 370n, 378, 409, 410n, 411.

- Cozzarelli, Guidoccio, 203n, 208,
242, 250, 271n, 282, 286,
306, 313, 329, 347, 348,
398, 399n, 400n, 401, 402,
404, 413n.
- Cremonini Pierro, 342.
- Crescentius, St., 231, 235.
- Crevole, S. Cecilia in, 295n.
- Criminal-justice, 85, 331n.
- Cristoforo di Bindoccio, 308.
- Cristoforo di Mone, 219n.
- Croce di Travaglio, 78n, 224,
248, 349, 350.
et passim, 409.
- Daniele da Volterra, 251n.
- Dante, 51n, 125, 166, 225,
272n, 306n.
- Dedications of Siena to the
Virgin, 128n, 269n.
- Dei, Andrea, 23, 43n, 138.
- Della Robbia, 336, 341n, 342,
409, 410, 411n.
- Diana, 42n.
- Diana, The, 317n.
- Dieci*, The Magistracy of the, 88,
90.
- Diego, Don, Hnrtado de Me-
donza, 116, 118.
- Diocese of Siena, 5.
- Dodici* The, 65 seq., 102.
- Dodicini*, See *Dodici*.
- Dofana, 18.
- Domenico di Bartolo, 202, 203n,
247n, 285, 308, 310, 338,
339n, 392, 394.
- Domenico di Giovanni, 261n.
- Domenico di Niccolò, 220, 221,
241, 285, 287n.
- Donatello, 179, 182, 204, 252,
276, 279, 288, 303, 356, 365n.
- Donato, Neri di, 85, 138.
- Dono, 219n.
- Dorking (England), Abdy Col-
lection, 206n.
- Duccio di Buoninsegna, 192 seq.
232, 254n, 271, 293, seq. 296,
313, 316, 347, 381, 383,
384, 385n, 387.
- Duccio, School of, 235, 254n,
273n, 333n, 334, 335, 345,
383, 384, 387, 412.
- Duke of Athens, 233.
- Elmora*, The game of, 43n, 149.
- Elsa, The river, 35, 36.
- England, Sienese Merchants in,
58n.
- Sienese Architects in, 174n.
- Euglewood, (U. S. A.), Platt
Collection, 412n.
- Euguerrand de Coucy, 87.
- Etruscans, 17, 163.
- Estimo*. See *Lira or Estimo*.
- Fardello, 85.
- Fedeli, Francesco, 367.
- Federighi, Antonio 171, 181,
182, 229, 247n, 249, 250,
257, 268n, 267, 285, 287n,
288, 291, 301, 343, 358.
364, 370.

- Felici, Cristoforo, 356.
 Ferrara, Peace of, 101.
 Ferrata, Ercole, 270.
 Feudal Seigniors, 25-26.
 Filippuccio, 217n.
Fioretti, The, 23, 355n.
 Flaminio del Turco, 186n, 319,
 324, 325, 354.
 Flanders, 58.
 Florence, Climate of, compared
 with that of Siena, 3; Her
 struggle with Siena, 30 *seq.*;
 defeated at Montaperto, 32;
 Commercial supremacy of, 32;
 Alliance with Siena, 39, 40;
 Her irritation with the Nove,
 62; She mediates between the
 Popolo and the Gentiluomini.
 81.; She gains possession of
 Arezzo, 87; Her bad; faith,
 90, 91; War with Siena,
 91; Declares against Gre-
 gory XII, 101; Fresh war
 with Siena, 102; Her rela-
 tions with Pandolfo Petrucci,
 104; Fall of the Republic
 of, 116; Cosimo de' Me-
 dici, Grand Duke of, 120;
 Bardini Collection, 252n;
 Bargello, 182n, 303n; Car-
 mine (Cappella Brancacci),
 309; S. Croce, 219, Uffizi,
 210n, 214n, 306n, 390,
 407n; Duomo (Campanile),
 292. S. Maria Novella,
 295n.
 Florentine Architecture, 161,
 171, 172.
 — Panting, 189, 194n, 195n,
 239.
 Fogliano, Church of S. Giovanni
 Battista at, 384n.
 Fojano, 124, 126.
 Folcacchiero Folcacchieri, 130.
 Folli, Sebastiano, 216n.
 Fontana, Giovanni, 327.
 Fontebecci, 71.
 Fontegiusta, Madonna di, 117.
 Fortezza di S. Barbara, 370.
 Fortini, Pietro, 143.
 Fossanuova, 165n.
 Fountains of Siena:
 Fonte di Follonica, 342.
 Fontebranda, 306, 377,
 Fonte Gaia, 179, 226-227,
 245n, 246n, 291n.
 Fonte Nuova, 170, 361.
 Fonte Ovale, 360.
 Fonte Pescaia, 369.
 Fra Angelico, 204, 243, 255.
 Fra Giovanni da Siena, 411n.
 France and Siena, 119seq.
 Francesco d'Antonio, 218-219,
 277, 410.
 Francesco di Giorgio, 172, 173,
 184, 205, 206, 242, 271, 286,
 328, 336, 346, 353, 364, 365,
 370, 374, 380, 397, 398, 399,
 402, 404, 404n, 411n, 412.
 Francesco di Giovanni, 219n.
 Francesco del Tonghio, 220n,
 272.

- Francesco Traini, 200n.
 Francis, St., 23.
 Fra Paolino, 341.
 Frankfort, Staedl Institute, 212.
 Frederick Barbarossa, 20, 91, 243.
 Frederick III, 280, 281, 369.
 French Gothic Architecture, 166.
 Fungai, Bernardino, 209, 313, 318n, 322, 330, 335, 339, 347, 361, 367, 368, 374, 379, 401, 402, 404.
 Gabella. See *Tavolette dipinte*.
 Gabbrielli, Pirro Maria, 145.
 Gaddi, Taddeo, 388, 389.
 Galgano S., Abbey of, 165, 167, 266, 267n, 339n.
 Gallerani, The, 44n.
 Gallerani, Beato Andrea, 247n, 408.
 Galleria delle Belle Arti, 381seq.
 Gano, 176n.
 Garzia de Toledo, Don, 121.
 Gascons, The, 87.
 Gastaldi, 19.
 Gates of Siena: 4, 37, 69n.
 Barriera S. Lorenzo, 4, 365.
 Porta all' Arco, 48.
 Porta Aurea, 164n.
 Porta Camollia, 31, 35, 96, 123, 162n, 163, 320, 321n, 368, 369.
 Porta Fontebranda, 164n, 412.
 Porta Laterina, 316.
 Porta S. Marco, 319, 320, 411.
 Porta S. Maurizio, 340.
 Porta Ovile, 82, 360, 385n.
 Porta Pispini, 340.
 Porta S. Prospero, 71.
 Porta Romana, 118, 163, 165, 336.
 Porta Tufi, 170, 325, 326.
 Porta San Viene. See *Porta Pispini*.
 Gavinana, Battle of, 127.
 Gazzanetti, The, 44n.
 General Council. See *Consiglio Generale*.
 Genga Girolamo, 210, 292, 400, 407.
 Gentile da Fabriano, 204, 206n.
 Gentiluomini, Order of *Magnati* or, 21, 26, 102. See *Monte de' Gentiluomini*.
 Gentiluomini, Consultative college of, 65, 68.
 They expel the Dodici from office, 70; are excluded from office by the *Riformatori*, 72, 76; Their cruelty, 76; Are readmitted to the minor offices, 81; Pius II uses his influence on their behalf, 102.
 Gherardini, The, 44n.
 German mercenaries in the employ of the Sienese, 35.
 Gesuati, The. See *Poveri Gesuati*.
 Ghibellines. See *Guelfs and Ghibellines*.

- Ghiberti, 179, 198n, 261, 302, 303, 325n.
 Ghino d' Antonio, 241.
 Ghino di Bartolo, 218.
 Ghirlandaio, 188, 203, 253, 330, 331.
 Giacomo di Bartolommeo. See *Pacchiarotto*.
 Giacomo di Castello, 219, 273.
 Giacomo di Francesco, 220n.
 Giacomo di Giovanni, 241, 367.
 Giacomo di Lorenzo (Il Capanna), 326.
 Giacomo di Minò, See *Iacopo*.
 Gian Galeazzo Visconti, 91.
 Gigli Girolamo, 144.
 Gilio di Pietro, 345, 383.
 Giordano, Count, 32.
 Giotto, 176, 188, 191, 192, 193, 197, 198, 199n, 292, 296, 335, 335n.
 Giovanni d' Agostino, 170, 176, 261n, 299n, 359.
 Giovanni di Bartolo, 218.
 Giovanni delle Bombarde, 368.
 Giovanni Gonnelli, 411n.
 Giovanni da Verona, 272.
 Giovanni di Meo, 86.
 Giovanni del Minella, 221.
 Giovanni Misser, da Montepulciano, 90.
 Giovanni di Paolo, 203, 209, 253, 296, 298, 314, 315, 334-335n, 346, 358n, 362, 365, 371, 372, 380, 392, 393, 394, 395, 399, 400, 408, 412n.
 Giovanni della Pietra, 230n.
 Giovanni Pisano, 175, 176n, 178n, 192, 197, 252n, 261n, 262n, 263n, 264n, 265n, 267n, 273n, 274n, 288n, 289n, 290, 292n, 307, 354n, 380.
 Giovanni da Siena, 171.
 Giovanni di Stefano I, 170.
 Giovanni di Stefano II, 182, 183, 268n, 271, 276, 277, 285, 373.
 Giovanni di Turino, 180, 228, 240, 273, 302, 303n. See also Turini.
 Giovanni da Verona, Fra, 272.
 Girolamo di Benvenuto, 207, 255n, 313n, 319n, 353n, 359n, 364, 366, 379, 400, 401, 402, 404, 406n.
 Girolamo di Contro, 219n.
 Girolamo da Cremona, 282.
 Girolamo Genga. See *Genga*.
 Girolamo di Giovanni del Pacchia. See *Pacchia*.
Giostre del Toppo, 51n.
 Giuliano da Como, 270.
 Giuliano, Fra, da Firenze, 330, 331n.
 Giuliano da Maiano, 171, 339, 363.
 Giuliano da San Gallo, 380.
 Giuliano da Todi, 219n.
 Giunta, 219n.
 Glass, Stained, in Siena, 219, 321, 328.
 Goldsmiths, 217, 218.

- Golli, The, 44n.
Gonfalonieri Maestri, 83.
 Goro di Gregorio, 176.
 Goro di Neroccio, 180, 218, 302, 337.
 Gothic Architecture, 161, 165 *seq.*, 167, 377.
 Gothic Palaces, 167, 168, 224, 250, 251, 257, 258, 316, 326, 329, 340, 369.
 Gottoli, The, 44n.
 Grande Tavola. See *Compagnia de' Buonsignori*.
 Grasselli The, 68, 70.
 Gregori, The, 44n.
 Gregorio di Cecco, 296.
 Gregory XII, 101.
 Grosseto, 49, 58, 67, 115.
 — Duomo, 385n.
 Gualtierio di Giovanni, 273n, 310.
 Guasparre d' Agostino, 305.
 Guasparre di Giovanni, 219n.
 Guastelloni, The, 44n.
 Guelfs and Ghibellines, 28 *seq.*
 Guercino, 328.
 Guglielmo degli Ubertini, Bishop of Arezzo.
 Guido da Pisa, 138n.
 Guido Reni, 327.
 Guido da Siena and school, 190, 192, 234, 235, 270n, 382, 385n.
 Guido Novello, The Count, 32, 33, 35, 36.
 Guidoccio d' Andrea, 311.
 Guidoriccio da Fogliano, 232-233n.
 Guillaume de Marcillat, 219n.
 Guilds. See *Arti*.
 Havre - de . Grace, 174.
 Henri II, 174.
 Henry III, 19.
 Henry VII, 52, 91, 177, 218.
 Hoby, Sir, Thomas, 117n.
 Houses. See *Palaces*.
 Ilaria del Carretto. 179, 180.
 Incontrati, The, 44n.
 Initials of Christ, 96, 228.
 Incontri, The, 41, 43n, 44n, 46, 49.
 Inlaying of wood and marble, 220, 221.
 Italian Gothic Architectute, 166.
 Italo-Byzantine Painting, 190, 192, 253, 297, 318, 319, 336, 337, 366, 367, 369, 370, 381, 382, 399, 399n, 402n.
 Jacopo di Corso, 302n.
 Jacopo della Quercia and school, 178, 180, 181, 183, 184, 226, 241n, 242n, 244, 245n, 246n, 264n, 277, 282, 290n, 291n, 299, 302, 303, 305, 309, 322, 328, 338, 365n.
 Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio, 261, 292, 292n, 301, 335, 389.
 Japanese Painting, 189, 238, 239.
 Jesi, 172.

- John II, Bishop of Siena, 19.
 John XXII. 98.
 Julius III, 118.
- Kirghthood conceived by the
 Commune. 26, 47.
 Kranach, Lucas, 407.
- Lace-Work, 407.
 Ladislav of Naples, 101.
 Lambertini Michele, 304.
 Lando di Pietro, 170, 217, 218,
 261, 288, 299n.
 Lando di Stefano, 230n.
 Lari Anton Maria, 173, 320.
 Lastra a Signa. See *Sassoforte*.
 Lands. See *Rime Spirituali*.
 Lecceto, Monastery of, 139,
 413, 414.
 Leo X, 108.
 Leonardo da Vinci, 172, 184n,
 210.
Liber Census et reddituum, 27n.
 Liberale da Verona, 282.
 Lippo di Memmo (Memmi) and
 school, 195, 196, 200, 217n,
 229, 301n, 320, 324, 334,
 335n, 369, 376n, 384, 386,
 387n, 388, 391n, 408n.
 Lippo di Vanni, 201n, 234, 247,
 282, 357n, 376n, 377n.
Lira or Estimo, 25.
 Lizza, Passeggio della, 117,
 163n, 370.
 Loggia di Mercanzia, 181n, 182n,
 223, 248, 250.
- Loggia del Papa, 161n, 171,
 343.
 Loggia degli Uniti. See *Loggia
 di Mercanzia*.
 Lombard - Romanesque, 164,
 165.
 London — British Museum,
 214n.
 — National Gallery, 208, 412n.
 — Victoria and Albert Museum,
 256n.
 — Benson Collection, 294n.
- Lorenzetti, Ambrogio, and
 school, 59, 196 *seq.*, 235, 239,
 245, 297, 308, 314, 315, 316n,
 320, 325n, 346, 348, 356n,
 357n, 358, 368, 385, 386,
 387n, 388, 392n, 393n, 395,
 412, 414.
 Lorenzetti, Pietro, and school,
 196 *seq.*, 242, 295, 296, 297,
 308, 312, 314, 318n, 320,
 325, 334, 335, 348, 355, 356,
 357, 361, 362n, 368, 385,
 386, 387, 388, 391n, 414.
- Lorenzo Cini, 327.
 Lorenzo di Maitano. See *Mai-
 tano, Lorenzo di*.
 Lorenzo di Mariano. See *Mar-
 rina*.
 Lorenzo de' Medici, 106n.
 Lorenzo di Pietro. See *Vec-
 chietta*.
 Lorenzo, Monaco, 204, 391.
 Lorenzo di Turino, 180, 181,
 244. See also *Turini*.

- Luca di Tommè, 200, 201n, 360n, 384n, 389n, 399n, 406n.
- Lucca, 33, 37, 50, 71, 124, 179.
- Lucignano, 127.
- Lucius III, 268.
- Macchiavelli, 104.
- Macone, 217n.
- Maconi, The, 44n.
- Madonna del Bordone, 332.
- Madonna detta del Corvo, at the corner of Via di Castelvecchio, 316.
- Madonna di Fontegiusta, 117.
- Madonna degli Occhi Grossi.
See *Madonna del Voto*.
- Madonna del Voto, 269, 270n.
- Maestri di Pietra. See *Arte de' Maestri di Pietra*.
- Magna Tabula, The. See *Compagnia de' Buonsignori*.
- Magnani Girolamo («Giorno del Sodoma»), 212n.
- Magnati. See *Gentiluomini*.
- Mainardi, 253.
- Mainetti, The, 44n.
- Maiolica. See *Ceramics*.
- Maitano, Lorenzo di. 169, 178, 260.
- Malatesta da Rimini, 71, 74, 77, 78n, 80.
- Malavolti, The, 44n.
— Giacomo de', 83n.
— Orlando, 142.
- Malborghetto, 48, 343n.
- Manciano, 110.
- Manfred, 31, 32, 39, 131.
- Mangia*. See *Torre del Mangia*.
- Manni Jacopo, 72.
- Mannello di Ranieri, 220n.
- Mappamondo, Sala del, 68n, 96, 231, 235.
- Marchesse d' Adamo, 285.
- Marciano, 124.
- Maremma, 19, 30, 48, 49, 51, 114.
- Marescotti, The, 44n, 251n.
- Margaritone, 382.
- Mariano d' Agnolo, 220n, 230n.
- Marignano, 123 *seq.*
- Mariotto di Nardo, 391n.
- Marrina, 185, 276, 328, 344, 357, 367, 368, 371.
- Martinella*, The, 85n.
- Martinelli, The, 44n.
- Martino di Bartolommeo, 242n, 243, 311n, 314n, 353n, 392.
- Mascagni, Paolo, 145.
- Massa Marittima, 95, 176, 199n.
- Massarello di Gilio, 384.
- Massaritia*, 24, 25.
- Masse, The, 4.
- Mattasala di Spinello de' Lambertini, 136.
- Matteino di Ser Ventura da Menzano, 78.
- Matteo di Balducci. See *Balducci Matteo*.
- Matteo di Giovanni, 207, 208, 242, 286, 298, 306, 323, 333, 340, 361n, 364, 374, 375, 397, 398, 403, 405, 406, 412n, 413.

- Mattioli Pier Antonio, 145.
 Maurus, Bishop of Siena, 20.
 Mazenghi, The, 44n.
 Mazzuoli, The, 186n, 276, 328.
 Medallists, 219,
 Medici, The, 65.
 Meli, 217n.
 Meloria, Battle of, 50.
 Memmi Lippo. See *Lippo di Memmo*.
Memorialis offensarum, 89.
 Medonza. See *Diego Don, Hurtado de Medonza*.
 Meo di Piero, 308.
 Merchants, Sienese, 38, 39. They monopolize the government 43 *seq.*, 55 *seq.*, Their enterprise, 58.
 Merse, The river, 19.
 Messa della Pace, La, 80.
 Michelangelo Buonarroti, 179, 246n, 251n, 278, 279.
 Michele Cioli, 249n.
 Michele Lambertini. See *Lambertini*.
 Michele di ser Memmo, 219n.
 Michelino da Besozzo, 392n.
 Mico, Sienese poet, 135.
 Mignanelli, The, 44n.
 Milan, 91, 95, 102.
 — Ambrosian Library, 196n.
 Milanese, Gaetano, 145, 160n.
Milites, 26, 27n, 54.
 Miniature-Painting, 196n, 203n, 282, 380.
 Monistero, Il, 19, 37, 411, 412.
 Monluc, Blaise de, 124, 128.
 Montalcino, 30, 31, 32, 119, 121, 128.
 Montanini, The, 44n.
 Montanini, Geri and Guccio, 137.
 Montaperto, Battle of, 32, 36, 58, 251n, 269n, 276n, 342, 350n.
Montaperti; Libro di, 9.
 Monte Amiata, 245, 326n.
 Montecchiesi, The, 44n.
 Montemassi, 232, 233n.
 Monte Oliveto, 98, 272.
 Montepertuso, 403n.
 Montepulciano, 30, 31, 33, 90, 201.
 Monteriggioni, 31.
 Monterotondo, 115.
 Monteselvoli, 251n.
Monti o Ordini of Siena, 44, 65, 101.
Monte de' Dodici, 65, 66.
 See *Dodici*.
Monte de' Gentiluomini, 44.
 See *Gentiluomini*.
Monte de' Nove, 65. See *Nove*.
Monte de' Paschi, 174n.
Monte del Popolo, 88, 102, 103.
Monte de' Riformatori, 75.
 See *Riformatori*.
 Monticiano, 19.
 Montieri, 30.
 Museum, Natural History, 6.
 Naddo Ceccharelli, 201n, 327n, 389, 390n.

- Nanni da Lucca, 302n.
 Naples, 34, 170, 177.
 — Gallery, 286n.
 Nasini, Giuseppe, 216n.
 Nastagio di Guasparre, 288.
 Nelli, M. Giustiniano, 143, 144.
 Neri di Bicci, 399n.
 Neri di Donato, 85, 138.
 Neroccio di Bartolommeo Landi,
 172n, 183, 184n, 205, 206,
 244, 251, 252, 269, 277,
 286, 299n, 336, 338n, 347,
 367, 397, 410n.
 Neroni, Bartolommeo, 174, 212n,
 221, 258, 272, 273, 275n,
 276, 326.
 New-Yorck. — Blumenthal Col-
 lection, 209n.
 — Morgan Collection, 182n.
 Niccola di Nuto, 220n.
 Niccolò di Buonaccorso, 201n,
 391n.
 Niccolò di Naldo, 273n.
 Niccolò Pisano, 175, 274, 274n,
 290, 307n.
 Niccolò di Ser Sozzo Tegliacci,
 196n, 348n.
 Niccolò di Segna, 384, 385n,
 414n.
 Nicolas V, 97.
Nobilitas divitiarum, 26.
 Nobles. See *Gentiluomini*.
Nove, The, 52 seq.; Their sta-
 tute, 53, 57; Fall of the,
 64, 65; Their banishment,
 102; Their return, 103;
 Their power survives the
 expulsion of the Petrucci, 109.
Novellieri Senesi, 141, 143,
 144.
Noveschi, 65. See *Nove*.
 Ochino, Bernardino, 144.
 Ogerio, 31.
 Umberto, Conut, 113.
 Ombrone, The River, 19.
 Onorata Massaini, 109.
Opera del Duomo. The, 180,
 185, 289 seq. 306n.
 Orbetello, 110, 115.
 Orcagna, 200.
 Orders of the City, 46, 53, 54.
 Ordinances of the People, 29.
 Orgia, 20.
 Orgiale, 20.
 Ormanni, Antoniolo, 280.
 Orsini, Ceccolo degli, 67.
 Orsini, Matteo Rosso degli, 47.
 Orso, Bishop, 177.
 Orvieto, 31, 167, 169, 178,
 178n, 218.
 — Cathedral of 167, 169,
 178, 196, 220, 262, 265.
 Osservanza, Convent of the, 95,
 107, 173, 184, 202, 219,
 290n, 409, 411.
 Otho, The Emperor, 29.
 Otranto, 102.
 Pacchia, Girolamo del, 209,
 210, 255, 318, 329, 330, 341,
 351, 359, 360, 362, 368, 378,
 404, 405, 407n.

- Pacchiarotto, Giacomo, 209, 213,
274, 304n, 318n, 339n, 341,
398, 399, 401, 403n, 404.
- Pacino di Valentino, 217n.
- Paduan Painting, 189.
- Paganucci, The, 44n.
- Pagliaresi, The, 44n, 49.
- Painting, Sienese, 187 *seq.*
— Thirteenth-Century and
other Early, 190, 192, 253,
269, 297, 317, 318, 319,
336, 337, 366, 367, 380,
381, 382, 399n, 402n.
- Palaces of Siena:
Palazzo Arcivescovile, 307.
— Bandini Piccolomini, 353.
— Bargagli, 322.
— Bichi, 363.
— Bindi-Sergardi, 300.
— Buonsignori (Tegliacci),
169, 315.
— Celsi, 173, 319, 321.
— Chigi, 258.
— Costantini, 365.
— dei Diavoli, 161n, 171,
370.
— Donati, 363.
— Finetti, 322.
— Forteguerri, 257.
— S. Galgano, 339.
— del Governo, 344, 349.
— Grottanelli, 169, 258.
— del Magnifico, 163, 173,
185, 250, 300.
— de' Marsili, 257.
— Mocenni, 371.
- Palaces of Siena: *Continued:*
— Pannilini, 326.
— Petrucci. See *del Ma-*
gnifico.
— Piccolomini. See *del Go-*
verno.
— Piccolomini-Clementini,
344.
— Pollini. See *Celsi.*
— Pubblico, 58, 68, 78,
167, 169, 179n, 181, 219,
220, 221, 224, 225, 227 *seq.*,
291.
— Reale, 258.
— Salimbeni, 41, 43n, 79,
169, 174n, 350n, 363.
— Sallustio Bandini, 353.
— Sansedoni, 169, 224, 349.
— Saracini, 169, 203, 251,
251 *seq.*
— della Signoria. See *Palazzo*
Pubblico.
— Spannocchi, 161n, 363.
— Tantucci, 163, 174, 343,
363.
— Tegliacci. See *Buonsignori.*
— Tolomei, 168, 350.
— dei Turchi. See *Palazzo*
dei Diavoli.
— Ugurgieri, 41, 43n, 276,
326.
- Palio*, The, 147 *seq.*, 224.
- Pannocchieschi, The, 29.
- Pantaneto, 343n.
- Paoli, Cesare, 145.
- Paolino, fra, da Pistoia, 341.

- Paolo di Giovanni Fei, 200,
201n, 254, 279n, 297n, 312n,
319n, 367n, 369, 370, 374n,
390, 391n, 395n, 399.
- Paolo di Martino, 285.
- Paolo di Neri, 310, 414.
- Paparoni, The, 44n.
- Paris—Louvre, 252n.
- Parri di Spinello Aretino, 242.
- Parte Ghibellina*, 27, 28, 37.
- Pastorino, 219, 250, 268.
- Pavement of the Duomo, 221,
283 *seq.*, 290, 291.
- Pazzi conspiracy, 102.
- Pecci, Cardinal Bernardino,
276.
- Pecci, Gio. Antonio, 143.
- Pelagatti, Niccolò de', 111.
- Pellegrino di Mariano, 203n,
204, 282, 351n, 389n, 394,
413n.
- Pelori, Gio. Battista, 174, 327,
343, 379.
- People. See *Popolo*.
- Percena, 208n.
- Pericciuoli, Giuliano, 174n.
- Perugia, 67, 184n, 201, 203.
- Perugino, 318, 323.
- Peruzzi, Baldassare, 173, 213,
271, 277, 311, 316n, 319,
322, 327, 340, 368, 371,
380, 413.
- Pesaro — Museo Civico, 252n.
- Pestilence, The, 59, 60, 95, 114,
115.
- Petrazzi, Astolfo, 216n.
- Petroni, Cardinal Riccardo, 177,
278.
- Petronio, S., The church of, at
Bologna, 179n, 180.
- Petrucchi, The, 103 *seq.*
— Alfonso, 108.
— Borghese, 108.
— Fabio, 108, 109.
— Pandolfo, 101, 103, 108,
210, 300, 411.
— Raffaello, 108.
- Philadelphia (U. S. A.) — John-
son Collection, 254n.
- Philip de Montfort, 33.
- Piazza dell'Abbadia, 362.
— di Agostino, 323n.
— d' Armi, 369.
— Baldassare Peruzzi, 173.
— del Campo (Vittorio Ema-
nuele), 42n, 48, 51, 96, 223,
226, 291, 326, 349.
— Camporegio, 371.
— del Duomo, 97, 259, 260, 307.
— di S. Francesco, 354.
— di S. Giovanni, 305.
— di S. Giusto, 329.
— dell' Indipendenza, 408.
— di S. Maria de' Servi (Man-
zoni), 331.
— di S. Marco, 319.
— del Mercato, 326, 331.
— Pianigiani, 371.
— Postierla, 257, 314, 316.
— Tolomei, 79, 350, 351.
- Piccolomini, The, 44n, 46, 102,
324n, 356.

- Piccolomini, Aeneas, 118, 119.
 Piccolomini, Aeneas Sylvius. See *Pius II.*
 Piccolomini, Alessandro, 143.
 Piccolomini, Cardinal Francesco. See *Pius III.*
 Picture Galleries. See *Galleria delle Belle Arti*, and *Palazzo Saracini*.
 Pienza, Duomo of, 205, 207n, 344.
 Pier Francesco Fiorentino, 391, 391n, 395.
 Piero di Cosimo, 255n, 338.
 Piero de'Franceschi, 208n, 395n.
 Pierino del Vaga, 268.
 Pietro degli Oriuoli, 298, 304, 305.
 Pietro di Domenico, 208, 209, 366, 398, 401, 402.
 Pietro di Giovanni, 204, 394, 410.
 Pietro Lorenzetti. See *Lorenzetti*.
 Pietro del Minella, 180, 221, 270, 285, 302n.
 Pieve del Ponte allo Spino, 276.
 Pieve al Toppo, 51.
 Pintoricchio, 209, 210, 213, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 286, 300, 318, 367, 369n, 402n, 405, 407.
 Piombino, 111.
 Pisa, 30, 33, 39, 50, 52, 61, 124, 170, 177, 200, 201 et passim. 307n.
 — Council of 75, 76, 101, Pisani, The, 175, 178, 267n, 290, 354, 408. See also Niccolò Pisano, Giovanni Pisano, Andrea Pisano.
 Pispini, Porta. See *Gates*.
 Pistoia. 33, 177, 333n.
 Pitigliano, Counts of, 114.
 Pius II, 66, 94, 95n, 101, 102, 140, 171, 278 seq.
 Pius III, 210, 279.
 Poccetti, Bernardino, 406n.
 Poggibonsi, 30, 34, 233.
 Poggio S. Cecilia, 50, 51.
 Poggio delle Donne, 126.
 Poggio Imperiale, Battle of, 102, 233.
 Poets, Sienese, 130, 137, 140.
 Polidori, F. L., 145.
 Pollajuoli, The. 184n, 188.
 Ponsi Domenico, 306.
 Ponsi Girolamo, 173.
 Ponte a Valle, 34.
 Pontignano, 411.
 Ponzi, The, 44n.
Popolani, 22, 26. See *Popolo*.
Popolo, defined 44, 45n; First victory of, 22; exercised jurisdiction over the towers, 24; compelled the Nobles to bear their share of taxation, 24; sought to be made knights, 26; formed part of the *Ventignattro*, 28; Seal of, 28; arms of, 28, 29; excluded nobles from office, 42, 43.
Popolo di Mezzo, 44, 53, 63.

- Popolo del minor numero, del numero mediocre e del maggior numero.*, 77.
- Popolo minuto*, 48, 74.
- Popolo, Monte del.* See *Monte del Popolo*.
- Population of Siena, 5, 60n.
- Populus*, 26, 27. See *Popolo*.
- Porrina, 344.
- Potestà*, The, 23 seq., 48, 57, 66.
- Pottery. See *Ceramics*.
- Poveri Gesuati*, 99.
- Pozzo della Diana, 317.
- Prato, 33, 50.
- Prediche Volgari*, 96, 97, 139.
- Priamo della Quercia, 309.
- Provenzani, The, 38, 44n.
- Provenzano Salvani, 35, 36, 37, 40, 225.
- Provveditori.* See *Quattro Provveditori*.
- Pugna.* The game of, 43n, 149.
- Quattro Provveditori*, 54, 345n.
- Quercia. See *Jacopo della Quercia*.
- Querciagrossa, 31.
- Quindici*, The, 45 seq.
- Quinto Settano, 144.
- Radicondoli, 208n.
- Radicofani, 107, 131.
- Raffaello de' Carli, 337.
- Raggi Antonio, 270.
- Ragnoni, The, 44n.
- Suor Barbera, 398.
- Ramo di Paganello, 176, 355.
- Ranieri, Count, 322n.
- Ranieri del Porrino, 176n.
- Raphael, 214.
- Redi, Tommaso, 186n, 265.
- Renaissance Architecture, 161, 162.
- Renaldini, The, 44n.
- Ressi, The, 44n.
- Ricasoli, The, 112.
- Riccio II. See *Neroni Bartolommeo*.
- Ridda.* See *Ballo Tondo*.
- Riformatori.* The, 72 seq.
- Rigoletto.* See *Ballo Tondo*.
- Rigomagno, 49, 50.
- Rime Spirituali*, 99, 100, 135, 136.
- Roccastrada, 49.
- Roman remains, 163, 164, 300, 322, 364, 408.
- Romanesque Architecture, Churches and Palaces, 166, 167, 168, 315n, 321n, 337, 340, 353, 362n, 371n, 380.
- Rome — Borghese Gallery, 214n.
- S. Onofrio, 213.
- Villa Farnesina, 214n.
- Romans in Siena, 18, 163, 164, 336.
- Rope and symbol of civic concord, 236n.
- Rossellino, Bernardo, 171, 244, 257, 344.
- Rugieri, 131.

- Rustichetti, The, 44n.
 Rustici, Francesco, 216n.
 Rustici, Lorenzo di Cristofano, 250n.
 Rutilio Manetti, 215n, 216, 315.
 Saena Julia, 17.
 Saints, Sienese, 91, 100.
 Salerno di Coppo, 333n.
 Salimbeni, The, 41, 43n, 44n, 68, 70, 71, 73, 77, 78n, 79, 80, 81, 83, 85, 112.
 Salimbeni, Arcangelo de', 215n.
 Salimbeni, Benuccio, 135.
 Salimbeni, Notto, 41.
 Salimbeni, Salimbene, 350n.
 Salimbeni, Ventura, 215n, 378.
 Salvanello, 351.
 Salvani, The, 38, 44n, 46, 47, 49.
 S. Filippo, Bagni di, 107.
 S. Gimignano, 33, 112, 196, 200n, 217n.
 S. Leonardo al Lago, 414.
 Sano di Matteo, 171, 248, 302n.
 Sano di Pietro, 203n, 204, 246, 247, 253, 256, 273, 274, 282, 313, 314, 315, 331, 336, 339, 342, 346, 347, 348, 359, 361, 372, 376, 380, 395, 396, 398n, 399, 409, 410.
 San Prospero, Hill of, 117.
 San Prospero, Porta di, 71.
 S. Quirico in Osenna. See *San Quirico d' Orcia*.
 S. Quirico d' Orcia, 19, 107.
 Sansedoni, The, 44n.
 Santa Colomba, Villa of, 173, 414.
 Santa Fiora, Counts of, 48, 111.
 Sant' Andrea delle Grazie, 35.
 Sant' Angelo in Colle, 49.
 Sant' Eugenio. See *Monistero*, II.
 San Viene Porta. See *Gates*.
 Sapia, 36, 37.
 Saracini, The, 44n, 118; Their arms, 252.
 Sassetta (Stefano di Giovanni), 202, 253, 254n, 255, 256, 336, 346, 358n, 361n, 392, 393, 394, 396n, 399, 410.
 Sassoforte (Lastra a Signa) — Perkins Collection.
 Scanagallo, Battle of, 124 *seq.*
 Scarlino, 124.
 Schifinardi, Domenico, 174.
 Scotti, The, 44n.
 Sculpture, Sienese, 175 *seq.*
 Sebastiano del Piombo, 252.
 Segna di Bonaventura, 194n, 334n, 358, 384.
 Selvolesi, The, 44n.
 Seminario, 357, 359.
Senae, Senarum, 42n, 43n.
 Senali, The, 44n.
 Senio, Castel, 42n.
 Sergardi, Ludovico. See *Quinto Settano*.
 Sermini, Gentile, 140.
 Sgraffito - work, 221, 222, 270, 283, 288, 290, 291, 373, 374.

Siciliani Vespers, 50.

Siena. See *Churches and Convents; Fountains; Palaces; Gates; Population; Water-supply; & c. & l.*

Sienese Palaces, 168.

Sigismund, The Emperor, 97.

Signorelli, 210, 253, 411n.

Signorini, Fulvio, 186n, 269, 282.

Silvanus, 164.

Simone Martini, and school, 194, 195, 196, 197, 200, 205, 231, 233, 320, 324, 346, 348, 369, 376, 384, 389, 390.

Sinalunga, 207n, 210n.

Sindacamento, The, 55.

Sixtus IV, 95n.

Soccini, The, 144.

Societas militum, 26, 27n.

Societas populi, 27n, 28.

Societates armorum, 23.

Societates contratorum, 23, 26n.

Sodoma, 159, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 230, 235, 241, 246, 247, 248, 305n, 314, 316, 318, 323, 326, 340, 342, 357, 359, 360, 365, 373, 374, 378n, 400, 401n, 405, 406, 407.

Sorore, Il Beato, 307n, 310.

Sorri, Pietro, 215n.

Sovana, 262n.

Sozzini, Alessandro, 128, 142, 143.

Spainards in Siena, 116 *seq.*

Spannocchi, 210.

Spedale della Scala, 202, 204, 258, 261, 307, 314.

— Pellegrinaio, 308.

— Deposito delle Donne, 310.

— Infermeria di S. Pio, 310.

— Infermeria di S. Galgano, 310.

— Church, 311.

— Compagnia di S. Caterina della Notte, 312.

— Confraternita della Madonna, 312.

— Chapel, 314.

Spinello Aretino, 242, 243, 390.

Staggia, 31.

Statute of the *Nove*, 53, 138.

Stefano di Giovanni. See *Sassetta*.

Stigmata, The miracle of the, 94n, 95n.

Storia di Due Amanti, 140.

Streets :

Via dell' Abbadia, 362.

— S. Agata, 326.

— Fosso di S. Ansano, 306, 307.

— Costa di S. Antonio, 380.

— Sallustio Bandini, 353.

— Costa de' Barbieri, 250.

— di Beccheria, 250.

— delle Belle Arti, 223, 380, 408.

— Benincasa, 377.

— della Calzoleria, 350, 352.

Streets : *Continued.*

- Camollia, 365, 370.
- delle Campane, 299.
- di Campansi, 365,
- del Capitano, 258.
- del Casato, 326.
- Vicolo del Castellare, 352.
- di Castelvecchio, 321.
- del Castoro, 257.
- del Cavallerizzo, 371.
- Cavour, 163, 223n, 364,
365, 409.
- delle Cerchia, 322.
- di Città, 250, 257, 258,
316.
- del Comune, 360.
- del Costone, 306.
- Curtatone, 162n.
- Diacceto, 250n.
- della Diana, 319.
- delle Donzelle, 349.
- Giovanni Duprè, 326.
- di Follonica, 342.
- delle Fontanelle, 326.
- Vicolo del Forcone, 408.
- Franciosa, 305, 306.
- della Galluzza, 380.
- Garibaldi, 365.
- Gazzani, 370.
- Costa Larga, 326.
- dei Maestri, 322.
- Malavolti, 371.
- S. Marco, 319.
- S. Martino, 168, 327, 330.
- delle Murella, 322.
- Del Nuovo Asilo, 316.

Streets : *Continued.*

- dell' Oliviera, 339, 340.
- Pagliaresi, 330n.
- del Paradiso, 371.
- dei Pellegrini, 250, 300.
- Tommaso Pendola (delle
Murella), 163, 322.
- Baldassare Peruzzi, 307,
316, 317.
- S. Pietro, 163, 314, 322.
- S. Pietro Ovale, 361.
- dei Pispini, 165, 340.
- del Poggio, 299.
- S. Quirico, 321, 322.
- Ricasoli, 223n, 339, 340,
342, 343.
- di Rinaldini, 349.
- Romana, 336, 337, 339.
- dei Rossi, 354, 360, 362.
- di Salicotto, 330.
- delle Scuole, 317.
- del Sole, 331.
- delle Sperandie, 320.
- di Stalloreggi, 168, 316,
- delle Terme, 203, 408.
- dei Tufi, 325.
- di Valle Piatta, 306.
- delle Vergini, 359.

Streets of old Siena, 289n.

Strozzi, Leone, 124.

Strozzi, Pietro, 122 *seq.*

Tabula de Sena. See Compagnia de' Buonsignori.

Taddeo di Bartolo and school,
201, 202, 239, 240, 242, 243,

- d. Torre del Mangia, 59, 229
 3, 301n, 326.
 9, Torrigiani, 278,
 2, Torrita, 67, 89, 233.
 Towers, Sienese, 24, 38, 117,
 371n, 409.
 Tozzo, Il,
 n, Tree of Liberty, 226n.
Trentasei, The, 38, 42.
 Trombetti, The, 44n.
 Tura di Caffone, 219n.
 18, Turapilli, Giuliano, 360.
 Turini, The, 180, 218, 228, 240,
 270, 273, 302, 303, 408.
 Turino di Sano, 180. See also
Turini.
ei. Turks, The, 102, 121.
 7, Twenty-four, The. See *Venti-
 quattro*.
 Ubertini, The, 44n.
 19, Uccello Paolo, 391n.
 Ugolino da Siena, 194n, 383n,
 384n, 385n.
 2, Ugolino di Vieri, 218.
 Ugurgieri, The, 41, 43n, 44n,
 49, 214n.
 o. Ugurgieri, Ciampolo degli, 138.
 Olivieri, The, 44n.
 University, Sienese, 5, 59, 177,
 p, 349.
 Urban V, 99.
 Urban VIII, 95n.
 Urbano da Cortona, 249, 257,
 265, 268, 269, 285, 289,
 312, 356, 367, 378.

- Val d' Ambra, 49.
 Valdambrini, Francesco, 180.
 Val d' Elsa, 30, 35.
 Val di Chiana, 19, 30, 67, 89, 121, 124.
 Val di Merse, 19,
 Val d' Orcia, 19.
 Valle Buona, 36.
 Valvisciola, 165n.
 Vanni, Andrea di, 72n, 200, 254, 341, 370, 386n.
 Vanni, Francesco, 216n, 317, 373, 401n.
 Vanni, Lippo di, 201n, 234, 247, 324.
 Vanni, Raffaello, 216n.
 Vanni di Tura, 220n.
 Vanutelli, Luigi, 323n.
 Vasari, 271, 319.
 Vecchietta (Lorenzo di Pietro), 171n, 182, 183, 204, 205, 247, 249, 271, 282, 303, 305, 309, 310, 311, 321n, 346, 348, 358n. 362n, 367, 395, 406.
 Venafro, Antonio da, 104.
 Venice, 189.
 — S. Maria del Carmine, 184n,
 Ventiquattro. Consiglio de', 27, 28, 40.
 Ventura, Angelo di, 170, 176, 325, 358.
 Ventura di Gualtieri, 29.
 Ventura di Ser Giuliano Pilli, 311.
 Ventura, Niccolò di, Cronicle attributed to, 141.
 Verocchio, 184n, 188.
 Veronese Painting, 189.
 Victor, St., 231, 235,
 Villa Farnesina, 214n.
 Visconti di Campiglia, 29.
 Vitricius, 164.
 Viva di Lando, 218.
 Volterra, 30, 33, 50, 124, 201, 207.
 Warnefred, 19,
 Water-supply of Siena, 4, 5.
 Windows of the palaces facing the Campo, Law concerning, 167n, 168n.
 Wolf, The, emblem of the Comune, 29, 228, 258, 290.
 Wolf enters the city, 115.
 Women, Learning of Sienese, 117n.
 Wood-carving in Siena, 220, 221.
 Wool-trade. See *Arte della lana*.
 Zuccaro, Federico, 407.
 Zuccheri, Federico, 215n.
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